

ANNALS CONGRESS AND CONFERENCES

A COLLECTION OF THE
PRESIDENTIAL AND INAUGURAL SPEECHES

DELIVERED AT THE
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE
ALL-INDIA TEMPERANCE CONFERENCE
ALL-INDIA SWADESHI CONFERENCE
INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE
AND THE THEISTIC CONFERENCE.

APPENDIX CONTAINING
AN ACCOUNT OF THE SPLIT IN THE CONGRESS

AND THE PROCEEDINGS OF
THE CONVENTION, THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE,
AND THE MEETING OF THE EXTREMISTS.

ALSO

THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS OF
SIR ADAMJI PEERBHoy AT THE ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
The Indian National Congress.	
DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE, C.I.E. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. . .	1
MR. TRIBHUVANDAS N. MALVI, M.A., LL.B. WELCOME ADDRESS. . .	39
The Indian Social Conference.	
MR. LAL SHANKAR UMIASHANKAR. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. . .	51
MR. MANUBHAI N. MEHTA. WELCOME ADDRESS. . .	69
The All-India Temperance Conference.	
BARU NORENDRO NATZ SEN. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. . .	89
The All-India Swadeshi Conference.	
MR. LALA LAJPAT RAI. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. . .	117
The Indian Industrial Conference.	
D. B. AMBALAL S. DESAI. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. . .	125
PROF. T. K. GAJJAR. WELCOME ADDRESS. . .	146
The Theistic Conference.	
SATYENDRA NATH TAGORE. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS. . .	167

APPENDIX.

A. The Split in the Congress.	
THE OFFICIAL PRESS NOTE. . .	i
THE EXTREMISTS' VERSION. . .	iii
THE HON. MR. GOKHALE'S VERSION. . .	xiv
B. The Convention.	xxiv
C. The All-India Conference.	xxvii
D. The Meeting of the Extremists.	xxxi
E. The All-India Moslem League.	
PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, BY SIR ADAMJEE PEERBHROY. . .	xxxii

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THE INDIAN REVIEW.

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
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THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS *

DELIVERED BY

THE HON. DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE, C.I.E.

Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My first duty is to tender you my thanks for the signal honour you have done me in asking me to take the chair. Believe me, I am more than grateful for the distinction you have conferred on me, unsought and unsolicited—a proud distinction, the proudest in your power to confer, but a distinction which carries with it a very heavy responsibility. For the position which I am occupying so unworthily is full of anxiety and was never more so than at the present juncture when heavy clouds have floated into the political sky; and in standing before you to-day I feel as if I was summoned to drive the chariot of the Sun; and if I am spared the fate of Phaeton, I shall owe my good fortune only to your forbearance and indulgent kindness on which I am confident I can safely rely. I can rely, too, with confidence on your willing co-operation; for are we not all animated by one common purpose and do we not know that co-operation is the very life of concerted action which can never thrive in an atmosphere of continuous strife and difference?

Every one must admit that we are passing through a sad and eventful period—a period of stress and storm—and if ever there was a time when we ought to close up our ranks and present a

* Delivered in part at the Indian National Congress, Surat, 1907.

firm, serried and united front, that time is this ; for the situation is of more than ordinary gravity. It is full of difficulty and full of peril, and unless we are imbued with a strong sense of discipline and of responsibility, the vessel of the Congress may be steered direct upon the rocks. It would be idle to deny, and I do not deny, that domestic dissensions have raised angry storms which are now sweeping across some parts of the country ; but there is no real occasion for pessimism or despair, though the incidents which recently occurred at Nagpur might well fill some minds with misgivings. There is, however, every reason to think that these disturbances were mainly the work of some misguided young men who had been carried off their feet by the wild talk of irresponsible persons. Of one thing, however, I am certain : those who have compelled us to change our place of meeting have no right to be proud of their achievement.

And here, on behalf of the assembled delegates, I must gratefully acknowledge the readiness and alacrity with which the people of Surat invited us to hold our sittings in their historic city. In offering their hospitality to the Congress they have only acted in accordance with their traditional generosity ; for they are citizens of no mean city. Surat, as history tells us, was the queen of Western India, a busy and famous mart before the lake-village of Llyndyn was staked out and long, long before Venice rose from the sea. But, perhaps, her greatest distinction, it is certainly her best title to our gratitude, is that Surat was the first resting place on Indian soil—where dissent was never suppressed by the sword, the gibbet or the stake—of the Parsi pilgrim fathers who cheerfully left home and kindred for the sake of conscience and whose descendants have inherited the virtues with the blood of their ancestors and repaid their debt thousand-fold to India ; for I make bold to say that there is

community whose love for the country is greater than that to which so many of our leaders belong, and which has given to us our "Grand Old Man."

I am glad to see in this assembly almost all our prominent leaders—men whose names are as household words and who have already taken an abiding place in the minds of the people. But I miss some well-known faces. Kali Churn Banerjee is no longer amongst us. A pious Christian, an accomplished scholar, an eloquent speaker and an ardent patriot, he was an ideal leader, respected by every community in the country. A most strenuous and earnest worker, his whole heart was in the Congress and his love for it was strong even in death. For who does not remember how he left a sick bed to attend our last meeting in Calcutta? Who does not remember how, though overcome by the heat and warned by the doctors, he refused to leave the assembly till he fell into a swoon and had to be carried out of the pandal? He died only a few days afterwards and when we think of the lonely Scotch cemetery in Koriya, where his remains were laid, we cannot help feeling how much learning, how much modest and unassuming simplicity, how much piety, how much winsome tenderness and how much patriotism lies buried in the grave of Kali Churn Banerjee. That hand which everybody was glad to touch is vanished. That voice which every body was glad to hear is still. But if to live in the hearts and memories of those whom we leave behind is not to die, Kali Churn is not dead but is still alive. True he no longer lives in his own person but he lives in us and will live on in those who succeed us, enjoying an immortality which is not given to all the sons of men. Pandit Biswambharnath, too, of Allahabad has been gathered to his fathers and we shall miss his mellow patriarchal wisdom in our councils. But though his work on earth has been done,

in that high sense of duty which alone could have nerved him when, as President of the Reception Committee in 1892, he welcomed the delegates to Allahabad, though only three weeks before a paralytic seizure had brought him to the verge of the grave, he has left an example which will continue to inspire generations of his countrymen. The pandit was in many ways a most remarkable man, and it will be long before there arises among us another jurist, scholar and patriot who can make us forget the loss of Biswambharnath.

THE RECENT DEPORTATIONS.

Gentlemen,—The year that is now fast drawing to a close has seen the country convulsed to its depths and has truly been a dramatic year. The first act opened with the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and of Ajit Singh. This was followed by the Ordinance against public meetings, the Rawalpindi trial, and the Press prosecutions in the Punjab and in Bengal, and the curtain dropped on what, it is to be hoped, was the last scene in the Council Chamber at Simla, when the Public Meetings Act was passed.

It has been said in defence of the resurrection of Regulation III of 1818, that it is a standing law. It is not a standing law but a standing negation of all law; not a standing law but a standing menace to our liberty, a standing reproach in our Statute Book. A prosecution, we have been gravely told, attracts public attention and a trial for sedition is, therefore, not always desirable. This is the good old rule, the simple plan, which used to be followed in an ancient Scotch border town which also possessed a standing law, though even in Jedburgh the formality of a trial was not wholly dispensed with, only it took place after the execution. It may be a

mere weakness in a lawyer; but I confess I cannot congratulate the Indian Government on their use of a weapon which is as obsolete in civilised jurisprudence as the rack or the screw. Their action in deporting a man for reasons which they dared not disclose was "illegal," "unconstitutional," "tyrannical," "arbitrary," "impudently absurd" and "preposterous." None of these epithets are mine. They have all been taken by me from Hansard and were used by a staunch Liberal on a memorable occasion. And was not Mr. Morley's answer in the House of Commons the most outrageous and indefensible answer ever given since Simon de Montfort invented Parliament? But it seems that what is true under one degree of longitude is not true under another. What is true in Cape Town is not true in the Punjab.

Who but must laugh, if such a man there be,

Who would not weep if Morlieus were he ?

And who was the first victim selected for the exercise of this arbitrary power? An earnest, religious and social reformer, a man whose character was above all reproach, a man who lived not for himself but for others—the idol of the Punjab. Such a man is suddenly discovered by the secret police to be a revolutionary and political enthusiast animated by an insane hatred of the British Government and secretly plotting its forcible subversion. If Lala Lajpat Rai had been put on his trial he could have triumphantly vindicated his innocence and shown that even strong Lieutenant-Governors are not infallible. He could have triumphantly shown that the garbled extracts in the *Wafadar* gave a most untruthful version of his speech. He could have triumphantly shown that all his aims and methods had been strictly constitutional and that he had always set his face against agitation which tended to sedition or disorder. But this

privilege, which may be claimed by the meanest criminal, was denied to one of our foremost men; and if Lala Lajpat Rai is now regarded as a martyr by his countrymen generally, it is the Government and the Government alone that have elevated him to that position and placed that priceless crown of thorns upon his head. If the Fort of Mandalay is now regarded as a holy place, as I know it is by some of my countrymen, it is the Government and the Government alone that have invested it with that holiness.

THE RAWALPINDI CASE.

In Etawah, too, a similar tragedy would have taken place had it not been averted by the good sense of Sir John Hewett who was able to see through the disgraceful conspiracy which had been so cunningly planned. But the spectre of an impending mutiny had obscured the vision of the Punjab officials and they saw in a mob riot a deep-laid scheme for the overthrow of the British rule. The result was the Rawalpindi prosecution which has thrown a lurid light on the methods of sedition hunters. Men occupying the highest position in society and looked up to as their leaders by the people in the Punjab were placed in the dock as felons who had by their seditious speeches incited violent riots. For six long months these men were detained in prison, as bail was refused on the ground that they could not, with safety to the State, be allowed to be at large. But what was the end of this prosecution? A complete vindication of their innocence and a most scathing exposure of the case for the Crown. The judgment of the Special Magistrate shows that panic had magnified into rebellion a perfectly lawful agitation against very substantial grievances. The evidence on which the six lawyers had been kept in prison for months was "suspicious if not fabricated" and there was not the shadow of a shade of evidence

to establish any sort of complicity on their part with any conspiracy against the British Crown.

And this leads me to remark that the situation in the Punjab was succinctly summed up by Lala Lajpat Rai in a letter which was written by him only a few hours before his arrest. The discontent he said was due to several causes which he set forth in chronological order.

(a) The letters and articles that appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette* some time in July and August last year under the heading "Signs of the times."

(b) The prosecution of the *Punjabee* coupled with the refusal of the Government to take similar action against the *Civil and Military Gazette*.

(c) The Colonisation Bill.

(d) The Land Alienation Act Amendment Bill.

(e) The increase of the Canal rates on the Bari-Doab Canal.

(f) The abnormal increase of Land Revenue in the Rawalpindi District.

(g) The appalling mortality from plague which had made the people sullen and labour scarce, and raised the wages abnormally.

This diagnosis was perfectly correct, for as soon as the most pressing grievances were removed, the Punjab became quiet. Though the bureaucracy will probably persuade themselves that this happy result was entirely due to the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and of Ajit Singh, and that another mutiny had been averted solely by their foresight and timely precautions.

PRESS PROSECUTIONS.

The Press prosecutions, too, which were entered upon so lightly by the Government did not show much wisdom. In some instances the Crown failed to secure a conviction and a

defeat in such cases must always cover the Government with humiliation. Then, again, the prosecutions in Calcutta showed unmistakably the new spirit with which the people are prepared to face all attempts at coercion. In many of these cases the defendants refused to plead and cheerfully went to prison and they must be blind indeed who cannot see in it a new consciousness of nationality which at the present day inspires Young India and has penetrated even the seclusion of the zenana. When the Editor of the *Yugantar* was sent to jail, there was a crowded meeting of Indian ladies in Calcutta, not to condole but to present a congratulatory address to his mother, and what did the old lady say in her reply? "Bupin's useful career has just begun," she said, "with his recent incarceration and his example will do more good than his mere presence as a humble worker in the midst of his countrymen." Again, at the Barisal Conference, which was forcibly dispersed, some ladies flung away their ornaments on witnessing the humiliation of their husbands and sons and took a vow to forego all luxuries till the men had learnt to assert their lawful rights. Not satisfied with these prosecutions the Government undertook a crusade against mere schoolboys and our young barbarians were either publicly flogged or condemned to hard labour. Is it a matter for wonder that all this should have called for the most intense indignation throughout the country? The official may not believe it but we can assure him the Indian has eyes and hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, and passions.

Is it a matter for wonder that the political movement should have waxed stronger and stronger, driving even many moderate men into active sympathy with those whom they had previously regarded as impracticable visionaries.

And this brings me to the unrest in Bengal, the partition of which has not only strained the loyalty of many people but has led to tragic results which ought to have been foreseen by the author of that measure. One of its objects was to strengthen the Mahomedan influence in East Bengal. That influence has been strengthened; but its strength has been manifested in a peculiar way. I do not wish to dwell on the Mahomedan riots and the atrocities which occurred in East Bengal, but this I am bound to say, that the local officials were lacking in that firmness and impartiality which are the best title of England to our allegiance. I wish to speak with moderation, but what are we to think when a Sessions Judge divides witnesses into two classes, Hindus and Mahomedans, and prefers the evidence of Mahomedans to Hindus, because they are Mahomedans. This avowed bias has naturally alienated Hindus who are burning with resentment.

Every one familiar with the recent history of Macedonia—and our officials are certainly familiar with it—knows that it is very difficult for a country to obtain autonomy when it is torn by religious and racial hatreds. To divide and rule, however, is a maxim which must be hateful to every Englishman and we should be sorry to charge any English official with such tactics. But the fact remains that, for the first time in Bengal, racial and religious hatreds have been surging in the new Province among communities who formerly lived on the most friendly terms. Lord Curzon, I find, protests against the notion that he meant to play off the Mahomedans against the Hindus, and we are bound to accept His Lordship's denial; but there is a well-known maxim in law that every man must be presumed to foresee the consequences of his own acts; though in the case of His

Lordship, with his well-known foibles, we are not driven to rely upon this old legal saw.

The officials still fondly believe or pretend to believe that the Mahomedans were goaded to madness by the boycott movement of the Hindus; and that this was the real cause of the general lawlessness of the lower classes among the Mahomedans which burst into flame in East Bengal only a few months ago. It is, however, singular that this lawlessness did not reveal itself when the movement was at its height. Again, if the official view is correct, we have a remarkable instance of the innate perversity of the Oriental mind; for the boycott benefited the Mahomedans and not the Hindus, by reviving the weaving industry on which they had lived for generations. It is, however, unnecessary to discuss this question at length, because it has now been placed beyond all controversy by the solemn judgments pronounced not by Hindu but by English and Mahomedan Magistrates.

At Jamalpur, where the disturbances began in the Mymensingh District, the first information lodged at the Police Station contained no reference whatever to boycott or picketting. Mr. Beatson Bell, the trying Magistrate at Dewanganj, observed that boycott was not the cause of the disturbances. Another Special Magistrate at Dewanganj, himself a Mahomedan gentleman of culture, remarked: "There was not the least provocation for rioting; the common object of the rioters was evidently to molest the Hindus." In another case the same Magistrate observed: "The evidence adduced on the side of the prosecution shows that, on the date of the riot, the accused had read over a notice to a crowd of Mussalmans and had told them that the Government and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca had passed orders to the effect that nobody would be punished for plundering and

oppressing the Hindus. So, after the Kali's image was broken by the Mussalmans, the shops of the Hindu traders were also plundered." Again, Mr. Barniville, the Sub-divisional Officer of Jamalpur, in his Report on the Melandahat riot said: "Some Mussalmans proclaimed by beat of drum that the Government had permitted them to loot the Hindus." And in the Hargilchar abduction case the same Magistrate remarked that the outrages were due to the announcement that the Government had permitted the Mahomedans to marry Hindu widows in *nikka* form.

The true explanation of the savage outbreak is to be found in the "red pamphlet" which was circulated so widely among the Mahomedans in East Bengal, and in which there is not a word about boycott or Hindu volunteers. "Ye Mussalmans," said the red pamphlet, "arise, awake, do not read in the same schools with Hindus. Do not buy anything from a Hindu shop. Do not touch any article manufactured by Hindu hands. Do not give any employment to a Hindu. Do not accept any degrading office under a Hindu. You are ignorant, but if you acquire knowledge you can at once send all Hindus to Jehannum (hell). You form the majority of the population of this Province. Among the cultivators also you form the majority. It is agriculture that is the source of wealth. The Hindu has no wealth of his own and has made himself rich only by despoiling you of your wealth. If you become sufficiently enlightened then the Hindus will starve and soon become Mahomedans." The man who preached this Jihad was only bound down to keep the peace for one year! You are probably surprised at such leniency. We in Bengal were not, or were only surprised to hear that the man had been bound down at all!

At the present moment there is undoubtedly a lull in East Bengal; but who knows that the Province may not be

swept again by another violent storm of wild frenzy and brute ferocity? For the devil of religious jealousy and hatred may be easily evoked; it cannot be as easily dismissed.

THE SEDITIOUS MEETINGS ACT.

The partition of Bengal is at the root of all these disorders and the discontent created by it has spread to other parts of the country. The result is a general unrest, and, in the opinion of the Government, the situation is becoming serious. But is not the solution of the problem within easy reach? You cannot govern India without the sympathy and confidence of the people. That sympathy and that confidence have been imperilled by Lord Curzon's autocratic measure and the only way to win back our sympathy and confidence is its reversal and not the Seditious Meetings Act which was passed on the 1st November last. Of that Act I find it difficult to speak with patience. But, as my honourable friend Mr. Gokhale said in the Council Chamber, even more dangerous than the Act itself is the policy that lies behind it—a policy which is unwise in the highest degree and which is bound to fail in India as it has failed everywhere else. It will burn into the minds of the people harsh memories which even time may be powerless to efface, and will, there is every reason to fear, enhance the very evil which it is intended to control.

We hope, however, that this new weapon with which the Executive have been armed will be very sparingly used. For the Prime Minister said only a few days ago that he was in favour of the free toleration of all agitation that is not directly and openly subversive of order. And I have no doubt that these principles of toleration will be loyally carried out by the Indian Government, when they recover from the panic which has seized them. All agitation is not subversive of

order. Every agitator is not a rebel though he is labelled as such by a section of the Anglo-Indian Press. A speech may be objectionable in expression and temper, but it ought not to be repressed merely because it might indirectly be subversive of order.

LORD CURZON.

By a strange irony of fate, it was left to a sympathetic Viceroy and a Liberal Secretary of State to adopt a policy of repression which Lord Curzon never ceases to remind us he had no occasion to call in aid. But the responsibility for this new policy primarily rests upon His Lordship, not upon Mr. Morley or Lord Minto who did not come into a "haven of peace." Heavy storms had broken out before the retirement of Lord Curzon, who left undone everything which he ought to have done and did everything which he ought not to have done. People for the first time began to distrust the good faith of their rulers, for His Lordship made no secret of his conviction that England's true mission was to govern India, but not through the people or with their assistance. The commercial exploitation of the country and its administration by Englishmen were his ideal of imperialism. Indians were to be excluded from all offices of trust and responsibility and were to be denied even all opportunities of qualifying themselves for such offices, which were to be reserved exclusively for the ruling race. And in every department of the public service a large number of highly paid offices were created by him to be filled by his own countrymen.

We have, gentlemen, a long and heavy indictment to bring against Lord Curzon. We charge him with having arrested the progress of education. We charge him with having set back the dial of local self-government. We charge

him with having deliberately sacrificed the interests of the Indian people in order to conciliate English exploiters and administrators. And, lastly, we charge him with having set Bengal in a blaze. It is Lord Curzon and Lord Curzon alone who is responsible for the rise of the new party, for he drove the people to despair and to madness. It is true Lord Curzon has retired, and yet the new party is growing in numbers. But we maintain that Lord Curzon is responsible for this growth, and if it is also growing in bitterness, Lord Curzon and Lord Curzon alone is responsible for it. Mr. Morley speaks of his duty to arrest the hand which would set the prairie on fire. Why did he not then, though in opposition, seek to arrest Lord Curzon's hand? He could not have rendered a greater service both to England and to India, for no Englishman has done more to undermine our loyalty than the Viceroy who sought to humiliate not only His Majesty's Indian subjects but also the great ruling chiefs. It is quite possible we have failed to appreciate His Lordship's good intentions, but the herald who recalled only the other day the virtues of Lord Clive may console himself with the reflection that justice may yet be done to him in the avenging pages of history—in the Greek Kalends.

If the Punjab is quiet, it is only because the grievances of the people have been redressed. If Bengal is still in a disturbed condition, it is only because the partition of Bengal is a festering sore which will not be healed. Let the Bengali-speaking people be placed under a Governor with an Executive Council, and you will see the winter of our discontent made glorious summer. Force is no remedy, and the best security for the peace of the country is the conviction that all real grievances will be redressed, not deportations or coercion Acts; and I have no hesitation in saying that timely concessions alone can arrest

the progress of the discontent which, though at present is a cloud, no bigger than a man's hand, may in time overshadow the whole land.

MR. MORLEY.

And this reminds me that Mr. Morley made a fatal mistake, fatal to his reputation as a Liberal and a statesman, when he refused to undo the partition of Bengal and sought shelter behind a settled fact. If he had only shown more courage Bengal would not have been convulsed and there would have been no excuse for the reactionary policy which has done so much to tarnish his fair fame as a Liberal statesman. And yet though unwilling to disturb the partition of Bengal, in his first Budget speech Mr. Morley spoke sympathetically of the new spirit which is abroad in India. The Indian system of government could not, he admitted, move in the old narrow groove but called for improvement. Speaking of the Indian Congress, he said that there was no reason to be frightened at its demands, as it did not insist on any violent or startling new departures. Dissatisfaction with the administration, said the great disciple of Mill, is not disaffection. It is true he did not think that India should have universal suffrage or be placed on the same footing as the self-governing colonies, but he insisted upon the spirit, the temper, the principles and the maxims of English institutions being applied to the government of India. Mr. Morley also said that a definite and deliberate move ought to be made with a view of giving competent and able Indians the same access to the higher posts in the administration that are given to their British fellow-subjects, and pointed out that the Proclamation of Queen Victoria should be construed in a liberal and generous sense and not refined away with the ingenuity of a quibbling attorney's clerk. We should be untrue, said the

friend and biographer of Gladstone, "to all the traditions of this Parliament and to those who, from time to time and from generation to generation, have been the leaders of the Liberal Party, if we were to show ourselves afraid of facing and recognising the new spirit with candour and consideration" We know how these professions have ended. They have ended in deportations, ordinances, public prosecutions, punitive police, military constabulary and the Public Meetings Act.

On the last Budget debate this great Liberal Minister boldly said that he had no apology whatever to offer for the deportations in the Punjab and he recommended a policy of firmness which in India means repression. Now we are quite willing to believe in Mr. Morley's kindness, sympathy and love of justice, though it may cost us a painful mental effort, but when he says his anchor still holds, we are bound to remind him that his vessel has veered round with the tide. He will not probably admit that he has changed his ground, but he has certainly changed his front. It is not, however, at all difficult to account for this sad change in Mr. Morley's attitude. He has been evidently misled by his responsible advisers whose knowledge of the condition of the country is derived from secret police reports, and who told him of widespread sedition and the imminence not of a mere mutiny but of a revolt against the English rule with all its attendant horrors,—a rising of the women and children against the men. A large section of the English Press also sought to create enmity between the two races by stirring up the memory of the dark days of the Indian Mutiny, stained with so many crimes and so much carnage; and the London *Times*, true to its traditions, recounted the old story with embellishments in order to embitter our rulers against us. What wonder, then, if that

apostle of freedom, to whom reasons of State are only the tyrant's plea, has been compelled to yield to the pressure put upon him by responsible advisers and by the Press. I will not say, with the Tory Press in England, that Mr. Morley has been translated, but we are painfully reminded of Ariel in the hateful bondage of Sycorax. The truth is politics, even in our day, is like pitch. You cannot touch it without being defiled, and the Secretary of State might have profited by the warning of Comte that a philosopher who holds up from his closet lofty ideals of conduct should not take an active part in the practical administration of a country like India where a Liberal statesman must frequently stoop to arts which may be reconciled to the official conscience but not to the conscience of the plain man.

Mr. Morley, I repeat, has fallen under the spell of the bureaucracy. We are quite willing to believe he means well. Indeed, the India Office, like the floor of the House of Commons, is paved with good intentions. But under the present system of administration it is impossible for any single man to do any real service to us. The Secretary of State has to take his facts from the Indian officials, and the only public opinion of which he knows anything is not the public opinion in India, but the public opinion in England, nourished upon the lies told by unscrupulous correspondents which are faithfully reproduced in the English Press.

THE GROWTH OF A NEW PARTY.

The growth of a new party in India has also served as a very useful excuse for delaying all reforms. I am, however, bound to say that this party is not, at the present moment, at all dangerous. Every sensible man disapproves of its methods; if the Government can only rally the Moderates to their side by gradually preparing the country to take its position as a self-governing

State or a federation of States united together under the supreme authority of England, they will extinguish the new party completely, and the ominous shadow which has projected itself over the future fortunes of the country will disappear. The bureaucracy, however, is unable to distinguish, or refuses to distinguish, between those who earnestly seek for reform and the irresponsible agitators who would have nothing to do with the Government. They are all tarred with the same brush. Those who demand a larger share in the administration of their country, as essential to the welfare and the stability of the British Government, are confounded with the pestilent demagogue who would drive the hated foreigner into the sea. Those who counsel their countrymen to have patience, confident that their rulers would in time give them all they can reasonably want, if they confine their agitation to constitutional methods, are confounded with those who assert that nothing good can come out of England, and that passive resistance if persisted in would compel the English to retire from the country. But is it not a serious blunder, which in politics we all know is worse than a crime, to denounce the whole of the educated classes as disloyal? Such denunciations have sometimes a fatal tendency to realise themselves.

WHO ARE THE ENEMIES OF ENGLAND.

Mr. Morley recently spoke of the "enemies of England," but who are these enemies? Not certainly the educated classes who represent the better mind of India. The real enemies of England are those Englishmen who lose no opportunity of showing their hatred and contempt for the people of this country. Flushed with the insolence of a ruling caste they treat them as an inferior race with whom friendly or sympathetic relations are impossible.

The danger of such an attitude was clearly discerned by Lord Salisbury, who, when he was Secretary of State for India,

addressed this memorable warning to the Cooper's Hill College students more than thirty years ago.

"No system of government," he said, "can be permanently safe where there is a feeling of inferiority or of mortification affecting the relations between the governing and the governed. There is nothing I would more earnestly wish to impress upon all who leave this country for the purpose of governing India than that, if they choose to be so, they are the only enemies England has to fear. They are the persons who can, if they will, deal a blow of the deadliest character at the future rule of England." Since this warning was given the relations between the two classes have grown worse and have given rise to racial hatred which is sure to cause serious trouble; for, as Mr. Morley said only the other day, bad and overbearing manners in India are a political crime.

The real enemies of England are those who talk of the lofty duty of England towards India but believe or pretend to believe, that this can only be discharged by a foreign bureaucracy and that, in the interest of the people themselves, they ought not to have any real share in the administration of the country. For, as Mr. Morley, the most tender, lofty, cheerful and delicately sober of all moralists, says, "the usual excuse of those who do evil to other people is that their object is to do them good."

The real enemies of England are those who try to stir up racial hatred in the press by the most unblushing lies whenever reform is in the air. I am afraid to trust myself to speak of the conduct of these men who are a standing menace to British rule, and will only say that we deeply regret that at this critical period the Government of India should have selected a correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, to supply them with Indian news

at an extravagant salary. Who does not know the achievements of that paper in all parts of the world,—in Africa, in China, and in India? Who does not remember the story of the "coronation" of Babu Surendranath Bannerji, of the reign of terror established in Eastern Bengal by the "National Volunteers", the "Barisal Scare," the incipient mutiny and last, though not least, the treasonable incitements of Mr. Keir Hardie? This is certainly not the way to restore the confidence of the people who are overcome by a sense of utter helplessness and despair.

CONGRESS DEMANDS.

Mr. Morley said in his last speech that he could not discover what we want our rulers to do which they are not slowly and gradually taking steps to accomplish, and seems to think that we were crying for the moon. But the National Congress does not surely cry for the moon when it asks for the reduction of the military expenditure. The National Congress does not surely cry for the moon when it protests against degrading Colonial Ordinances and demands for the Indian the ordinary rights of British citizenship in the Colonies. The National Congress does not surely cry for the moon when it seeks the separation of Judicial from Executive functions or protests against the partition of Bengal. The National Congress does not surely cry for the moon when it insists upon the extension of primary education or the limitation of the revenue on lands which belong to the State. The National Congress does not surely cry for the moon when it insists upon a truly effective representation of the people in the Legislative Councils or upon their representation in the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and of the Governors of Madras and of Bombay.

We do not demand the immediate recall of Lord Kitchener or the disbandment of the Indian Army. We do not demand universal suffrage. And yet these were some of the red herrings Mr. Morley dragged across the path of English public opinion in his Abroath speech. What we do demand is that our rulers should introduce reforms as steps towards giving us that self-government which is now the aspiration of a people educated for three generations in the political ideas of the West. Mr. Morley admits that the English are here not for their own interest but for the interest of the millions committed to their charge. Now, though this assertion has an unctious theological flavour about it, and must be taken with a few grains of Kureutch salt, I take it no Englishman will deny that the supremacy of the English is not to last for ever and that their real object is to teach India to rule herself. I am confident that every true Englishman who has an inborn sense of freedom and justice has faith in self-government. And I can affirm with equal confidence that, however beneficent a foreign rule may be, no people in whom all manhood has not been killed out will ever willingly submit for ever to the yoke though it may be wreathed with flowers. This is a natural sentiment which must commend itself to every true-hearted Englishman. The "brightest jewel in the British Crown" must not be regarded merely as a market for British goods or a field for the safe investment of British capital or as opening a dignified career to "our boys." Now, can any one honestly say that England has done all that she might have done towards accomplishing her mission? What, I ask our rulers, have you done during the one-and-half centuries of your stewardship? Given increased material prosperity? Granted; though the people with oriental perversity still continue to die of famine. Given us high

education? Granted; though here again in ways peculiar to the East where the law of cause and effect does not hold good that education has, according to you, led not to contentment but to disaffection. But if that education, as we assert, has with all its faults given you public servants as able and as loyal as their English brethren, has not the time come to give the educated classes a larger share in the administration of the country? We look at the achievements of Japan in less than fifty years. We look at Persia, we look at China, and our minds are filled with despair. We cannot any longer be fed with wornout platitudes; and when Mr. Morley deals in them he forgets that we too may claim to have kindled our modest rushlights at Burke and Mill's benignant lamps. We too know the painful journey that lies before us before we can be welded into the political unity of a nation. Long, long is the way, rugged is the ground and the weary steps must be trodden with bleeding feet, with bleeding knees and with bleeding hearts. But do not, we pray you, stand with a drawn sword to impede our journey.

I repeat that we are not crying for the moon. I repeat, that all we ask is that our country should take her rightful place among the nations under the ægis of England. We want in reality and not in mere name to be the sons of the Empire. Our ambition is to draw closer to England and to be absorbed in that greater Britain in which we have now no place. The ideal after which we are striving is autonomy within the Empire, and not absolute independence. Let England help us in attaining our object and her name will continue to shine with undimmed glory, even when the New Zealander sits on the ruined arches of Westminster Bridge.

A new spirit is abroad in India which calls for an improvement in the Indian system of government which has now become an anachronism. Men nurtured on Western ideals and literature must be animated by new aspirations which must be satisfied. The time that Macaulay foresaw—the most glorious day for England—has now arrived. With the growth of new ideas and new aspirations the Indians insist upon a greater share in the administration of their own affairs. This demand is resisted by an autocratic bureaucracy who are jealous of the slightest encroachment on the privileges of their order. It is admitted on all hands that the people of this country are most docile and law-abiding and yet portions of the country are in a state of ferment. This is due not only to the resistance to the demand of the people for a larger share in the management of their own affairs, but also to the reactionary policy persistently followed in recent years by the Government, and their contempt for public opinion and the legitimate aspirations of the people. Political life is stirring in India which must be faced in a considerate spirit; but there has been, as yet, no serious attempt to do so by the Government. The result is general discontent. The bureaucrats are certainly wise in their generation. They defer all reforms till the discontent gathers in volume and leads to seditious movements, when they readily seize on them as a pretext for repression and for indefinitely postponing any experiment in self-government. The Spanish matador, as we all know, maddens the bull with his muleta and then plunges his sword into its neck.

The supreme necessity of the hour is sympathy. We wish to see less and less of the strong hand, and more and more of the strong nerve, the strong head and the kind heart. As the Prime Minister recently said, the Indian Administration should be

brought into closer contact with the Indian people, and that it is only by an honest, courageous and persistent attempt to do so that England would discharge her momentous trust,—the most momentous trust that was ever committed to a great State. And there never was a time when sympathy was more needed; for India is truly a country of many sorrows and is stricken sorely by plague and famine.

And this brings me to the reforms which Mr. Morley shadowed forth towards the end of his speech on the last Indian Budget debate. These were, in addition to a Royal Commission to enquire into the evils of over-centralisation, (first) the institution of an Advisory Council of Notables, (second) the enlargement of the Legislative Councils, (third) the fuller discussion of the Budget in the Viceroy's Council, and (fourth) the nomination of one or two Indians to the Secretary of State's Council in London.

It would be premature to express any opinion on the work of the Decentralisation Commission. We have, however, every reason to think that it will strengthen the elective element on Municipal and Local Boards and that the representatives of the people will be associated with the District officer in the work of local administration. I know that most people distrust Commissions, though Lord Curzon was free from any such weakness. But we trust that the Decentralisation Commission will prove an exception to the general rule and lead to great improvements in the administration, as the terms of reference are wide enough to include proposals for advancing the cause of local self-government by strengthening and developing Municipal and Local Boards and by decentralising District Administration. The distribution of power between the Supreme and Provincial Governments is a matter of secondary importance to us. But to what extent our

control of local affairs in Municipalities and District and Local Boards is real—also to what extent the administration of a district by the Collector and District Magistrate is influenced directly and indirectly by the opinion of the people of the district—these are matters of supreme importance. Though we may not be yet in a position to make a correct forecast of the result of the labours of the Commission, our best men must direct their energies towards making these labours fruitful, and this can only be effected by our coming forward in sufficient numbers to give evidence before it. Of course, only such persons should come forward for the purpose as have a fair grasp of these questions and some personal acquaintance with either local self-government or district administration. The present disposition which, I fear, is general all over the country to leave the Commission alone is most unfortunate and will only do us harm. We should insist that the composition of Municipal and District and Local Boards should now be entirely or almost entirely elective. We should also insist that the resources at their disposal should be larger than at present. And we should lastly insist that the control of Government over local bodies should be similar to that of the Local Government Board in England, and, as there, it should be exercised only in the interests of efficiency and purity of administration, and that, subject to this control, local bodies should be free to manage local affairs and spend local resources as they deem best. Then, and then only, would they feel a real sense of responsibility in the matter of local self-government which can never be developed under the present system of constant and harassing interference on the part of officials. As regards district administration, everybody will admit that the Collector and District Magistrate should be emancipated from

the present excessive Secretariat control, and, in place of it, every head of a district should have associated with him a Board composed of elected and nominated members, which may at first be entirely or almost entirely advisory, but which, in course of time, should be entrusted with definite and gradually expanding powers of control. All important administrative matters concerning a district, except such as may have to be treated as strictly confidential, should be laid before this Board for advice, which the Collector and District Magistrate should not be at liberty to set aside except for reasons to be recorded in writing. If the experiment succeeds, as it is bound to do, the Board should be empowered to exercise substantial control over most matters of district administration like the administration of excise and forest rules, famine and plague administration.

The first three reforms adumbrated by Mr. Morley are now embodied in what is known as the Simla scheme, and I propose to deal with these reforms very briefly. The idea of a Council of Notables is not quite new. A similar measure was tried by Lord Lytton in 1877, but, as Mr. Morley admits, it was a complete failure; and I fear that unless the scheme is considerably modified, the proposed reform will share the same fate. For the Council is sure to be a reactionary body,—an Indian House of Lords, with this difference, that the English House of Lords contains many able and accomplished men who have been trained in politics from their earliest youth and who are in a large measure in touch with the general trend of public opinion. I do not, however, deny that the proposed Council, if it is properly constituted and its functions enlarged, may be a useful institution. But the present scheme is open to a variety of objections. In the first place, though

ruling princes may well be invited to a Council which has to deal with matters touching the welfare of their States or their relations to the paramount power, British subjects alone should be eligible as members of a Council which will have to deal exclusively with questions relating to administration in British India on which ruling chiefs are not likely to be able to give much useful advice.

The proposed Council is also open to objection on the ground that the Councillors are not to be consulted collectively but only individually. Then, again, it is absolutely necessary, in order to create confidence and to secure in some measure popular representation, that a certain proportion of the members should be elected by the different Provinces. The Council should also meet at stated times, and whenever any proposed measure is not accepted by a majority of the members it should be dropped, or, at any rate, postponed, for further consideration. You cannot invite opinions only to flout them.

The proposed reform of the Viceroy's Legislative Council is also open to very serious objections, if indeed it is not a step backwards. It has been almost universally condemned, as the proposal to allow the local Councils to return only seven out of fifty-four members would seriously reduce the influence of the educated community who, notwithstanding the sneers at intellectuals, lawyers, and schoolmasters, are the real leaders of public opinion. Distrust, we all know, breeds distrust, and the Government ought not to be surprised if my countrymen regard their proposals with the same suspicion with which the Trojans regarded the friendly gifts of the Greeks.

The functions of the Council should also be enlarged and the debate on the Budget ought to be made a reality instead of a mere academic exercise. This can only be done by allowing the

members to divide on any question on which there may be a difference of opinion on any head in the Budget. The Council should also be given an opportunity of discussing, under proper safeguards, questions relating to administration on which there is a strong public feeling.

The Provincial Councils should also be expanded on the same lines and every district should be allowed to return a member. And the Advisory Boards for assisting local Governors in carrying on the administration should be constituted on the model of the Council of Notables. All important matters connected with local administration should be referred to these Boards for opinion before any action is taken. This is the only way to bring the administration into touch with the people.

I would ask you to consider the reform scheme carefully, for I am sure the Government will give due weight to any recommendations which may be made by you. It has been put forward before the public for criticism and it is our duty to suggest such additions and alterations as would, in our opinion, improve the scheme. It would certainly not be wise to reject the proposals simply because they do not go far enough in a petulant spirit. On the other hand, the Government have no right to be surprised if, in their present mood, my countrymen refuse to be consoled by these rather doubtful concessions for the deportation of British subjects without a trial or the partition of Bengal.

It remains only to add with regard to the fourth proposal of Mr. Morley, that it has already been carried out. It is no doubt a great step forwards but its usefulness will entirely depend on the careful selection of the members. But the selections which have been made, have not commanded general approval. Such approval can only be secured by

giving the people a voice in the selection. We must, therefore, ask that whenever an Indian has to be appointed all elected members of the several Legislative Councils should be invited to submit three names to the Secretary of State, who should then select one out of the three.

I will now pass on to the present position of the National Congress. Gentlemen, it has been said that there is a hopeless division in our ranks and that we have now come to the parting of ways. It has been said that we are divided into two parties,—those who place their faith in constitutional methods and those who have lost all faith in them—and that it is impossible for the two parties any longer to act together. Now in a vast organisation like the Indian Congress, which embraces every section of the community, differences of opinion must be inevitable; though they cannot be allowed to reach a point which would paralyse our action. Quarrels when they stop short of this only prove not the weakness but the strength of our combination. They show the vigour of life and not the languor of decay. One thing, however, we must not forget. We must not forget that the National Congress is definitely committed only to constitutional methods of agitation to which it is fast moored, and if the new party does not approve of such methods and cannot work harmoniously with the old, every body must admit it has no place within the pale of the Congress. Secession, therefore, is the only course open to it. But I most fervently hope and trust that nothing of the kind will happen, for are we not all soldiers fighting in the same cause and under the same flag marching together to the golden trumpet note sounded by Dadabhai Naoroji last year for the great battle of *Swaraj*? Are we not all inspired with the same ideas, the same thoughts, the same desires and the same aspirations? The Congress exists to draw us together and

not to divide us. It stands pledged as ever to the larger employment of the people of this country in the public services so as to gradually dispense with the present expensive administration. It stands pledged as ever to our larger representation in the Legislative Councils. It stands pledged as ever to the reduction of the enormous military expenditure and to a more equal division of the burden between England and India. It stands pledged as ever to the limitation of the land revenue. It stands pledged as ever to the separation of Executive and Judicial functions. It stands pledged as ever to the *Swadeshi* movement. It stands pledged as ever to the resolution that the boycott movement in Bengal inaugurated by way of protest against the partition of the Province is a legitimate movement. It stands pledged as ever to the reunion of the people of Bengal under one administration. And, lastly, it stands pledged as ever to win gradually for the country by all constitutional means that autonomy which England has so wisely granted to her colonies.

We all recognise the supreme need of unity and of patriotic sacrifice. We are all agreed that nations are made by themselves. We are all agreed on the necessity of education on national lines and the general elevation of the masses so essential to the attainment of a higher political life. We are all agreed on the necessity of industrial development. For even deeper than political reform, before mere forms of Government, lies the great question of the industrial regeneration of the country. Let us stand by the *Swadeshi* movement which is founded not on hatred but on love—love of our own country, not hatred of the foreigner. Our creed is short and consists in the development of India for ourselves; but *Swadeshi* within the limits of the law. It is a patriotic sentiment which

involves no disloyalty. We are determined not to use foreign goods so far as practicable, and no amount of repression will deter us from carrying out our resolution. We cannot protect our industries by tariff legislation, but we can show our love for the country by our sympathy for the masses who are now steeped in unspeakable poverty. The Anglo-Indian community, however, have taken fright at this movement and the Government too have been infected by it. They draw a sharp distinction between *Swadeshi* and boycott; but unless boycott is accompanied by violence is there any real difference between the two?

I confess I see no reason why we should not still be able to work in harmony. A house divided against itself cannot stand, and we must be on our guard against the deadly peril of disunion. The race may not always be to the swift nor the battle to the strong, but depend upon it, without patient discipline and self-control, without courage and determination, without a sense of loyalty, of order and of duty, our enterprise is bound to fail. The citadel of bureaucracy is much stronger than the walls of Jericho. Brother-delegates, the night is dark and tempestuous. Let us hold together and wait in patience for the dawn, not resting till the bright morning comes, fearless in our faith and strong in our hopes. But this I am painfully compelled to say, that unless wiser counsels prevail, there is bound to be a cleavage when we must part company and the Congress left free to follow the path of constitutional agitation marked out by its founders,—the only path which promises a successful issue.

The new party seems to have persuaded itself that it is hopeless to expect any concessions from our rulers and that political agitation on the lines of the National Congress are a delusion and a snare. The true bureaucrat, it says, does not

appreciate moderation and always treats the constitutional reformer with secret contempt. Like the Sin Fein party in Ireland, it has lost all faith in constitutional movements but it must be said to its credit that it has also no faith in physical force; nor does it advise the people not to pay taxes with the object of embarrassing the Government. I am of course speaking of the leaders. All its hopes are centred in passive resistance of a most comprehensive kind, derived, I presume, from the modern history of Hungary, the pacific boycott of all things English. If I understand its programme aright, we must refuse to serve Government in any capacity either as paid servants or as members of Legislative Councils, Local Boards or Municipalities. British Courts of Justice too should be placed under a ban and courts of arbitration substituted for them—a proposal, by the way, which shows that the agitation is not the work of hungry lawyers. All schools and colleges maintained by the Government should also be boycotted. In a word, we must get rid of our habit of leaning on the Government and create in its place a habit of thinking and acting as if the Government were not. All this, however, is to be effected not by physical force but by social pressure; for there has as yet arisen no party to counsel violence or any other breach of the law.

Now it seems to me, to put it mildly, that this is a counsel of despair which may appeal to "the impatient idealist," but which is foredoomed to failure. I speak not in anger but in sorrow, for it is quite possible to sympathise with this new phase of patriotism, this yearning for an unattainable ideal. But we must look facts in the face. We must recognise them loyally, and if it is true that no man is ever good for much who has not in his youth been carried off his feet by fiery enthusiasm,

it is equally true it needs the bit and the bridle. For enthusiasm, unless controlled by sound judgment, frequently ends in ghastly tragedies.

You all know the story of the city with the three gates with their inscriptions; the first said "Be bold," the second "Be bold and ever more be bold," while the third and last inscription which the horseman read was "Be not too bold." You forget that rashness is not courage. You forget that hasty maxims drawn from the history of other nations and other times are extremely dangerous, as the conditions are never the same, and action which produces a certain result in one country at one time may lead to a directly opposite result in another country and at another time. You forget that there is no doctrine so universal and comprehensive that you are bound to act upon it at all hazards. You forget, it may be a cynical remark, but it is perfectly true, that though a martyr may be worshipped for his sufferings and his sacrifices, he is not always counted among the wisest of men and his example is more frequently admired than followed. I need not go far afield to seek for illustrations. You pride yourselves on the idea that you alone have the courage of your convictions and that the Moderate party are disloyal to their country and would betray her with a kiss. But you forget that there is a faith, and, perhaps, as has been rightly said, a deeper faith which knows how to stand still and wait patiently till the fruit is ripe and may be gathered without violence. Your aims may be generous but do not drag the country into perils which you do not foresee but which are sure to follow on your methods. The millennium surely will not arrive when all Government colleges and schools are closed, when all Municipal and District Boards are abolished and elected members refuse to sit in the Legislative Councils

of the Empire. Petulance is not manliness. It is easy to revile authority in season and out of season, but not so easy to build up a nation. Of one thing I am sure. One thing I know. Mere rant, however full of fire, will not help us. What we want is action, leadership and discipline. What we want is earnest work in co-operation with the Government, if possible, but in any case in conformity with moral and constitutional methods. Temporary failures must not discourage us. Hopes deferred must not sicken us. We must pursue our course with that courage which inspires the soldier in a forlorn hope with heart for any fate, conscious of our integrity and conscious of the nobleness of our cause.

I implore you not to persevere in your present course. Do not be beguiled by mere phantoms. You cannot put an end to British rule by boycotting the administration. Your only chance under the present circumstances of gaining your object lies in co-operation with the Government in every measure which is likely to hasten our political emancipation ; for so long as we do not show ourselves worthy of it, rely upon it England will maintain her rule, and if you really want self-government, you must show that you are fit for such responsibility. Then and then only will the English retire from India, their task completely accomplished, and their duty done.

THE NEW PARTY NOT TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY.

But suppose your movement is successful and the English retire from the country, leaving the people to stew in their own juice. Imagine the chaos and disorder into which the whole country would be immediately plunged. I really cannot—I hope to be forgiven for this remark—take the members of the new party seriously ; I believe they are at present only in a sulky mood, because constitutional and peaceful methods

have failed. They say that the National Congress has been for years only ploughing the sands of the sea-shore, that all prospects of reasonable concessions are more and more receding into the distance and that we are deluding ourselves and our countrymen in persevering in our mendicant policy. Arguments, they say, are of no avail nor supplications however humble. They are always met by insult and by contempt. Now I venture to think that this mood betrays an impatience which the history of every reform shows to be in the highest degree unreasonable—a sullen and angry mood which may readily slide into a temper which would be a menace to law and order and would furnish our enemies with the plea that the public tranquillity can only be secured by repression. You may deny it, but I fear you are in danger of slowly but surely drifting into treason.

Do not, I beseech you, play the game of our enemies but be staunch to the Congress as ever and abide by the principles, and follow the chart laid down by its founders. Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do the unjust disabilities under which we labour? Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do our exclusion from our legitimate share in the administration of the country? Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do the annual drain which is impoverishing the country? Do you believe that we do not feel as strongly as you do the burden of the military expenditure which arrests all progress and but for which the country would have been covered with a network of schools, with free primary education within the reach of the masses? Do you believe that we are not as determined as you are to work out our political emancipation?

But I ask you seriously if it would not be madness to give up constitutional agitation either here or in England, specially

in England, where public opinion, not of the classes but of the great democracy, is now the dominating factor in politics. I do not invite you to supplicate with bated breath and whispering humbleness, but to demand of a nation, jealous of its honour, a fulfilment of the pledges which have been repeatedly given to us. What lies in our way is the utter ignorance of the English people about us. They have been led to believe that the administration of India is perfect; but if they were made acquainted with the real condition of the country, at the present day, they would gladly support such reforms as we demand; though we must be prepared for the opposition of those classes whose vested interests might be imperilled by any reform. We must, therefore, try to educate English public opinion. And that public opinion, when well informed and not warped by lies, is sure to be essentially just. It is only by enlisting such opinion on our side that we can hope to achieve our objects. We must, therefore, endeavour to place our views before the people of England by every means in our power, by active agitation on the platform and in the Press. Remember that we have very powerful enemies, who try their best to mislead the nation, and we can only hope to meet them by creating a powerful body of opinion, in our favour, among the people who have been so recently emancipated and whose sympathy must always be with those who are only claiming the ordinary rights of British citizenship. This is now the task of the British Committee in London, whose services, however, have not received that recognition or support, which is undoubtedly due to them. Our friends in England have been unremitting in their exertions and if we have escaped more rigorous repressive measures, we owe it to them and to them alone. They have not only laboured to promote our welfare but have spent their own money for us, and I am not using the language of exagger-

ation when I say that they have poured out money like water in our cause.

I do not deny that we must rely on our own right hand to build up our national strength ; but the only power that can control the bureaucracy now is to be found in England. Depend upon it, political agitation in England is not a mere waste of energy and of money. It is sure to improve the system of administration and to galvanize it into new life. Measures like free primary education, for instance, will appeal readily to the sympathies of the English people and will be forced on the bureaucracy, who, if left to themselves, would put it off indefinitely ; for they have studied one art in perfection, the art of writing minutes and of not doing anything. Then, again, the exposure of official wrong-doing is sure to have a sobering effect on the bureaucracy. Agitation, therefore, in England must be carried on actively and persistently, not apathetically or intermittently, and I would specially recommend this question to the attention of the Congress. But we must work with courage and determination, without expecting immediate results and confidently leave the issue to time. Above all, we must try to win back the confidence of the English nation which has been forfeited by the wild utterances of some irresponsible agitators and the lies and calumnies industriously spread by those who hate the people and would keep them in a state of perpetual tutelage. It is these men who led Mr. Morley and the Indian Government to believe that there was real danger of a conflagration, which, we know, never existed. It is these men who have deterred a Liberal Government from making any substantial concessions. It is these men who have induced the English people to distrust not only our loyalty but also our competency to manage our own affairs.

I repeat that though our progress may be slow, we must not lose heart; no, not even if the dial is set back; for such things are inevitable in the course of human affairs. But depend upon it, unless history is a record of lies, Englishmen love freedom as their most cherished possession; but do not forget that the freedom they love is freedom broadening slowly from precedent to precedent. I repeat that our object can only be achieved by constitutional agitation and not by leaving Government severely alone. Visions may be sublime but they are not real; and a universal boycott, which would make administration impossible, seems to be the figment of a disordered imagination. Privileges have to be manfully fought for and it would be puerile to turn away from the struggle, simply because our first attempts are not crowned by tangible immediate results. For my part, I have never despaired, and I refuse to despair.

WELCOME ADDRESS *

BY

MR. TRIBHUVANDAS N. MALVI, M.A., LL.B.

Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I consider it an inestimable privilege to have this opportunity of offering to you from my fellow citizens of Surat most sincere and cordial greetings of welcome to this city on the occasion of the 23rd Session of the Indian National Congress. My fellow citizens, let me assure you, consider this assemblage in their midst of Indian brothers coming from all parts of the country belonging to all religions and creeds to be the greatest honour to themselves and their old historic, but now fallen, city. They welcome you in words as well as by deeds from the bottom of their hearts. Such a gathering is an unparalleled event in the annals of this city, replete as it is with memories of its past. This year has been one of exceptional good fortune for Surat, inasmuch as it has been honoured by the sittings of the Provincial Conference as well as by those of this larger and more important body. This city was once so prosperous and rich and so famous and well known, that it had almost become a synonym for the whole of our country in the countries of Europe in the 16th and the 17th centuries. Our city was at one time the Gate of Entrance for Europeans into India, just as Bombay, the *urbs primus in Indis* now is, and the Surat of yore, can justly be said to have been in early times the predecessor of the present capital of the Presidency in its manifold prosperity. Ours was the first city in India

* Delivered as Chairman of the Reception Committee.

which foreign merchants and travellers of all nationalities visited during their tours through India. At least no merchant or traveller ever thought of returning to his home from India unless he had paid a visit to our city. All European Powers of importance in the times of the Great Moghul in India had considered it worth their while to have their factories in our city, and it is on land where the French Government had once their factory that we meet to-day. Our city was the first in India to have a factory of our Rulers in its midst and in the present fulness of the glory and the prosperity of the British Empire in India, the inhabitants of Surat cannot help recalling to their minds the fact of their city being the cradle of the British Empire in the East. And now, gentlemen, the citizens of Surat will remember in future the fact of the wise men from all parts of India having condescended to select our city as the most suitable place this year for their annual conclave to deliberate upon the ways and the means of securing a steady reform of the government of the country, and continued usefulness for their national movement.

The tide of fortune, however, soon changed with Surat as it does with everything in Nature. When the great Mahratta warrior and founder of the Mahratta Empire, Shivaji Maharaj, was attempting to wrest the Indian Empire from the Moghuls and establish a Hindu Empire in India in its stead, this city happened to be under Moghul rule, and its very prosperity and fame became one of the chief causes of its ruin. Surat was the first to attract Shivaji's attention as a Moghul possession in Western India worth having, and he invaded it on no less than three occasions. During the invasions we did not escape the usual pillage and damage at the hands of the invaders, but as the trade of the city continued to be prosperous owing to the favoura-

ble situation of its port, the pillage of its stored wealth could not affect the condition of the city and its inhabitants in any appreciable degree. A rival port was, however, coming into existence in the Konkan, and it was destined to play an important part in the downfall of Surat, to rise from the ashes of Surat as it were, to appropriate to itself all the glories and grandeur and to be its successor as the first city in Western India. It is well-known history that the Island of Bombay was presented to the English King Charles II. by the Portuguese King as part of the dowry of his daughter Catherine who was married to the English King. The Island had a fine harbour, in fact owed its very name Bombay to the situation of its harbour. The East India Company had their eyes turned to the Island long before the acquisition thereof by the English King. They thought that, if they got Bombay, it would be the most convenient and central place of safety from which they could keep a careful watch over their possessions and trade on the Western Coast of India and in the interior. Soon after the English King got it, the East India Company began to negotiate for its transference to themselves from the Crown and within half a dozen years succeeded in securing a lease of the Island from the Crown. Gerald Aungier, who was then the Governor of Bombay and is regarded as the founder of Bombay, transferred the seat of Government from Surat to Bombay, and this event marks the second stage in the downward course of the fortunes of the city. With the transfer of the seat of the Company's Government most of the foreign trade of the city was also gradually transferred to the rising city. Reverses after reverses followed, the Empire of the Great Moghul was completely annihilated by the British, Surat itself was taken by the British and was thenceforward reduced to the position of a minor city under the Governor

of Bombay. The manufactures of silk, brocade and other embroidery work, as well as the art of wood-engraving, which were until then carried on by the artisans of Surat on a very large scale and had enjoyed a reputation all their own, had to give way before cheap European goods and gradually dwindled into obscurity. The last century has been the worst. It has been an almost unbroken record of fires and floods, famines and plague, and it has seen the complete ruin of the city which had commenced with its invasion by Shivaji. As our great Poet of Surat sings, these fires and floods have disfigured and destroyed the Golden Beauty of Surat. During the last 12 years Surat has also had its fair share of the dire calamities of famine and plague, which are impoverishing and devastating, it may be said, almost the whole of India. Plague this year left us only about a month ago, and what might probably turn out to be one of the worst famines on record is now staring us in the face.

The inhabitants of Surat, though now depleted of their past wealth and deprived of their historic fame and grandeur by misfortune, and passing as they have been, through times of trouble and anxiety, have still retained their pristine notions of hospitality. Surat has been for long anxious for the honour which is now somewhat tardily conferred on her. After the Session at Ahmedabad five years ago, she had made up her mind to secure the privilege as soon as possible, and the Congress was appealed to in Calcutta last year to hold its present Sessions here, but a more favoured candidate was then in the field, and Surat had to give way. Providence had, however, ruled otherwise, and our offer was repeated and accepted only a month ago.

The earnestness and sincerity of the people of Surat will best be judged by the preparations made by them in the exceedingly short time at their command. We have tried our best

and strained every nerve to make the usual necessary preparations to receive and serve our countrymen. We are conscious of the shortcomings in our preparations, and for one thing want of time has prevented us from providing for the Exhibition which has been a very instructive and useful accompaniment of the Congress Sessions for the last half-a-dozen years. I fully trust and hope, however, that it will be seen that we have had very little time to cope with our work, and I dare say our Indian brothers will find sufficient compensation for our omissions in our manner and we earnestly appeal to our brothers to accept our hospitality with all its defects in the spirit in which it is offered.

Gentlemen, the Congress has now completed the 23rd year, and is already, so to say, in the full flush of youth. Taking a retrospective view of its past career, we find that it has done much to fulfil its mission and to realize the expectations formed by its founders of the good to result from it. Within a few short years after its birth, it exhibited within itself signs of vitality, stability and permanence which astonished and upset its most adverse and virulent critics. As was expected, it was for several years a red rag to many Anglo-Indian bureaucrats. They attacked it in season and out of season, with reason and without reason. Their self-interest was seriously menaced by the movement, and they left no stone unturned to discredit it. All sorts of fanciful charges were levelled against it. It was urged that the British Government was perfect, and there was no need of the existence of such a body to suggest improvements in its policy. It was also stated that the Congress was only made up of a microscopic minority of Hindu lawyers in the country, and a sprinkling of some Parsis, wanting to come into prominence by hook or by crook, and to secure for themselves some of

the loaves and fishes within the gift of the Government. It was accused not only of harbouring impracticable and chimerical views about Government but also of deliberately putting forward impossible demands. In some quarters, hints were also thrown out that the movement was seditious and subversive of the British Government. Hostile feelings towards the Congress were roused even among a section of the Indians themselves, and matters were carried so far that a counter-movement to support the bureaucracy was actually set on foot. Nothing daunted, however, the institution has gone on working and has survived all criticisms and attacks and has grown up and flourished, thanks to the foresight and the good sense of the patriotic helmsmen steering its ship through these storms! Their deliberations and resolutions bore on the very face of them marks of sobriety and moderation, usefulness and practicability, necessity and importance, and last though not least, complete unity and harmony among the men taking part therein. The counter-movement was found to be such a weakling that it could not live for any appreciable length of time and had to be carried to the grave in its infancy. The critics of the Congress, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, were then forced to retreat from the position they had taken up, and began reluctantly and slowly to admit its usefulness if not its importance and necessity. It was now admitted that the movement had not its origin in the ambition or avarice of briefless Hindu lawyers, but that Indians of all religions and creeds, professions and occupations, took part in its meetings and conducted their proceedings with unanimity, and that it was the Indian National Congress not merely in name, but in reality also. It also began gradually to dawn upon the members of the bureaucracy that there was some meaning after all in the annual complaints of these "agitators,"

that some of the defects alleged by them did exist in the administration carried on by the "infallible" British administrators, and that there was room for improvement therein on the lines suggested by the Congresswallahs. The claims of the Congress to the sympathy and support of the Rulers of India have been steadily coming to be recognized more and more by the British public and even the British Parliament. Retired Civilians and Members of Parliament like Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Henry Cotton have thought it an honour to accept the Presidency of the Congress Sessions. Even those Members of Parliament who had not even so much as seen India before, like the late Mr. Bradlaugh, or like Mr. Keir Hardie and our present guest, Dr. Rutherford, have made no secret of their sympathies with the movement, and have openly advocated its cause. Some of them have even undertaken the trouble and the expense of a voyage to India simply for the purpose of attending the Congress. Thus Mr. Bradlaugh had come out in 1889 for the special purpose of attending the Congress presided over by Sir William Wedderburn, and Dr. Rutherford now attends as a delegate from our British Committee.

The Congress thus has not only succeeded in securing a recognition of its character, but, besides, several of its demands have had to be conceded, and its resolutions acted upon, by our Rulers. One of the most prominent changes introduced by our Rulers in the system of administration of the Government in this country in consequence of our annual meetings and annual resolutions was the expansion of the Legislative Councils in 1892. It is well known how in the past the non-official members of the Legislative Councils were at times mere nonentities nominated by Government and what part favouritism played in such nominations. Some of

the nominated members knew very little of the language in which the proceedings were conducted, and in voting invariably sided with the official members. Instead of this, we have now some members elected by the people, who are in every way qualified and competent to represent their constituents as regards their aims and desires and their difficulties and grievances, who are fully capable of forming independent judgments of their own as to what is best in the interest of the country, and who are perfectly unfettered in giving their votes. A scheme to further enlarge the Councils and to constitute Advisory Councils is at present on the anvil, but it is not for me to enter at present into a detailed consideration of this subject. The scheme forms one of the items of deliberation this Session and will be fully discussed by abler gentlemen later on. Suffice it to say that the Government have deemed it advisable to recognize the necessity of further improving the Councils, though the proposals drafted are, as they stand, of a most disappointing character. Another important reform urged by the Congress year after year is the separation of the Judicial and the Executive functions, and it has recently been announced that the Secretary of State has resolved to try in some parts of the country an experimental measure of that reform.

An important concession has been made in regard to the Council of the Secretary of State for India. The right of Indians to seats in the Council has been recognised, and two Indians have already been appointed as members. The advocacy of the Congress for an advance in the direction of local self-government has resulted in that subject being entrusted to the Royal Commission on Decentralisation for inquiry. The Madras and Bengal Governments have thought it worth their while to inaugurate a system of consulting non-official members before framing

their budgets, and I trust other Local Governments, as also the Government of India, will imitate their example. We have also succeeded in getting the incidence of taxation lightened in some cases, e.g., the reduction of the salt tax to less than half of what it formerly was and the raising of the limit of taxable incomes under the Income Tax Act from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 per annum.

These results are not to be altogether despised. But what is of more importance is that the Congress has now attained to a position of considerable influence and weight with the Government, both here and in the United Kingdom. Only the other day, the *London Times*, the most Conservative and Imperialistic journal in the British Isles, thought it necessary to admit this fact though somewhat unwillingly, and referred to the Congress in terms which, having regard to its general attitude towards Indians, must be regarded as appreciative.

The Congress has not only to maintain the present position and prestige it has acquired, but, as time goes on, to acquire fresh weight and influence. A great many more and important things have yet to be done for India in order to secure to her the full benefit of the privileges promised to her people by her late lamented Majesty Queen Victoria, in her memorable Proclamation of 1858. In achieving this end, the weight and influence of this body will be of very great use and help to the Indians. It must not be forgotten that this weight and influence has been acquired in the past by the exercise of moderation, firmness, and unity in the expression of its aims and desires, and the conduct of its deliberations. It is, therefore, incumbent on all true patriots of India, to maintain and strengthen the Congress and its reputation and position by persevering in the same policy of moderation, firmness and unity which have stood us in good stead and proved so beneficial. Any

departure from this track may involve us in difficulties of which few can have any real idea. Those who have been forced to abandon their hostile attitude towards the Congress are on the alert, and will, on the least sign of any departure from the old policy of the Congress, resume their former attempts to strangle it, and if the mischief is once done, it will be very difficult, perhaps impossible also, to repair it afterwards. Differences of opinion there will exist, as they must, but, in the interests of national unity, it is necessary to keep them from going beyond a certain limit.

Since the Congress met last year, we have passed through very troublous times indeed. Eminent Indians have been seriously suspected of and charged with the highest offences against the State, viz., exciting sedition, rioting and the like, in most cases without justification. Somehow the idea became prevalent among the ruling class that the present year being the 50th year of the Indian Mutiny, Indians were preparing for a similar revolt, and a sort of panic seized them. To check this imaginary revolt all sorts of repressive and reactionary measures were taken. Old obsolete enactments, of the existence whereof even no one ever dreamed, were brought into requisition for the purpose of punishing people for undefined offences assumed to have been committed without giving any notice to the victims of the charges laid at their doors or giving them an opportunity of meeting these charges. The people in certain localities were assumed to harbour treasonable intentions and meetings were prohibited in those districts, at first for a time, and we have now a very dangerous statute, in the shape of the Seditious Meetings Act, capable of general application throughout the country by a notification in the *Government Gazette*, thrust upon us.

No one deplores these incidents of the past 12 months more than ourselves, and we should not be doing our duty to our countrymen if, assembled as we are in our representative National Congress, we omitted to take notice of these deplorable events, and you will no doubt consider how best we are to give expression to our feelings and opinions in this matter. Any reactionary policy on the part of the Government is bound to cause irritation, which can be allayed by a resort to conciliation, and we ought to tell the Government so. Our countrymen on their side also owe a duty in this respect to themselves and to the Government. It is their duty to keep their heads perfectly cool and steady in such times, and to take all reasonable care that their representations and comments in expressing their disapproval of questionable measures do not give ground for any suspicion of a seditious movement lurking behind.

A great calamity is just now staring us in the face. Providence seems somehow to be against us, and the failure of the September rains and the complete holding off of the monsoons since the middle of August threaten us with a failure of the khariff as well as the rabi crops this year almost throughout India. The country has been unfortunately, for about 10 years last, suffering from famines and droughts almost every third year. Past famines have already prostrated the poorer sections of the people, and especially the poor agriculturists, and how they will face this famine is a very difficult problem. The land tax, especially in the Bombay Presidency, presses very heavily on the poor. The Government must be appealed to for the adoption of a liberal policy, the opening of relief works, making of advances to poor agriculturists, and the refunds and remissions of revenue. The people are totally unable to provide against the impending famine, and unless a liberal and sympathetic

policy is extended to them, the end of the year will see a heavy mortality and devastation of large arable lands. We have had, however, during all our troubles of the year one great consolation for which we cannot be too thankful to Providence. Our Grand Old Man, the nestor of Indian politicians, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, has recovered from his somewhat alarming illness and I trust that an earnest and fervent prayer from every one present here will go up that the Great Dispenser may spare him to us for a long time to come to assist and bless us in our work. Even in his present old age the old man is actively striving for our country, and it is no exaggeration to say that it will be impossible for us to find an equal to him.

We have seen how we have succeeded in eliciting a favourable consideration of a great many of our representations in the past, by making them firmly and unanimously and in a spirit of complete loyalty and absolute moderation. It would be simply presumptuous on my part to say anything about the future policy of the Congress, but, in my humble opinion, if the same policy is pursued we should meet with a similar success in the future, and that a departure from such lines would be exceedingly disastrous. Loyalty, moderation, firmness and unity in all our deliberations, resolutions and representations should be our mottoes and we cannot keep them too much in sight.

I again tender to you a warm and hearty welcome on behalf of the Reception Committee and the inhabitants of Surat and request you to proceed with the business of the Session. The Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, the eminent lawyer of Calcutta and member of the Council of the Governor-General, who is so well known all over the country, has been designated President of the Session by the Reception Committee in pursuance of the resolutions passed at the last Sessions, and he has kindly accepted the post. His election will have to be formally proposed and seconded before he takes the chair, and I request Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Desai to put the formal proposition before the meeting.

THE INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

MR. LAL SHANKAR UMIASHANKAR.

I beg to offer you my heartfelt thanks for the great honour you have conferred on me by asking me to preside over your deliberations on this occasion. The duties of the office involve a grave responsibility for which I feel that I am unequal, and I crave your indulgence for any deficiencies that you may notice in me and in my work.

We are met in the old historical city of Surat which has ever held a prominent position in advancing the cause of social reform. It was the birthplace of reform in Gujerat. The earliest prominent Gujerati reformers—the late Messrs. Durgaram Mehtaji, Mahipatram Rupram, Kavi Narmadashankar Lalshankar, Nandshankar Tuljashankar and Navalram Laxmiram—were born in Surat. Mr. Mahipatram Rupram was the first Gujerati high caste gentleman who undertook a travel to Europe. It was in Surat that the reform struggles first began and the question of foreign travel was grappled. Surat has not merely the credit of initiating reforms, but it has also the credit of carrying them near completion. It was not long ago that the Vaishya Mahajan and the Nagar Brahmins of Surat solved the question of foreign travel. A few days ago the Anavla Brahmin community of this district

expressed their approval of a widow remarriage at their caste meeting and declined to outcaste the married pair. It was in this city that a large number of the Lad Vania at a caste meeting expressed themselves in favour of widow remarriages. It is gratifying that we meet in a city which has distinguished itself so well in connection with this movement.

In recounting our losses during the year I must note with great regret the removal from us of Mrs. Dhankorbai Madhavdas. She was the earliest and the most prominent lady worker in the widow remarriage cause. Hers was amongst the earliest and most respectable widow remarriage in our Presidency. A lady born in one of the leading families of Kapol Vania caste of Bombay, married after widowhood to a prominent reformer in well-to-do circumstances, with a family of her own born after her remarriage, and leading a happy unostentatious and quiet life, she furnished a most instructive and encouraging example to widows who were thinking of remarriage. Widows from different parts of the country willing to remarry sought her protection and remarried in her house. In her death the reform cause has sustained an irreparable loss. We have also to record the death of Thakore Shri Jsvantsingji of Limbdi who had been selected to preside at the last Provincial Social Conference held in this city. In his death the reform cause has lost one of its principal supporters among the ruling chiefs on this side of India.

Social rules and customs are the result of men living in society. They came into existence for the benefit of society and must be such as to promote its welfare. They cannot be regarded as unchangeable and ought to be altered when they cease to answer their purpose and become harmful. If the conditions and surroundings of a society are altered in such a way as to

render the retention of old rules and customs harmful, and yet no alteration is made in them, the society would inevitably become degraded and demoralised and would be thrown backward instead of moving forward. It is, therefore, the duty of the patriotic leaders of a nation to examine its rules and usages from time to time and ascertain how far they have become injurious to its welfare and unsuited to its conditions and surroundings and make such modifications and alterations as may be demanded by the change of circumstances. This is the great secret of the high position that Japan has been able to win among the nations of the world.

In our country our early ancestors never regarded the customs and usages as immutable, and they readily made changes whenever they found them desirable. When the Smritis composed by the different Rishis are compared, many instances are found of usages once common becoming obsolete, and of customs and practices recommended and approved of by one sage being disapproved and forbidden by another. Their more recent successors, however, failed to do this and the result has been that our society has retrograded and our country has fallen behind in civilisation, wealth, industries and arts; and, instead of being one of the foremost nations of the world, we are regarded as one of the most backward, and many nations who were much behind us have gone ahead of us.

The early reformers who commenced agitation for social reform found that the result to our society of our neglect to adjust our usages and practices to the conditions and surroundings was a most deplorable one. All classes of people were plunged in ignorance and superstition, women were forbidden education and their status, dignity, and position had been lowered, and they were kept in a condition of dependence and

seclusion. The practice of infant marriages was rampant; out-casting meant a complete severance from society; prejudices against widow remarriage, foreign travel and inter-dining and inter-marriages with members of different castes and different sub-sections of the same caste were so strong that nobody would even dare talk in favour of these questions.

A society reduced to such a low social condition cannot expect to advance in other directions. Arts, industries and trade were decaying, and progress in every direction was retarded. The social, intellectual, moral, industrial and political condition of the country being unsatisfactory, it is necessary that efforts for reform should be made in all directions. It is not possible for the same body to be able to devote its energy to all reforms; and therefore different workers should apply their energies to the different branches of reform on the principle of division of labour, so that simultaneous progress may be made in all directions. It is a good sign of the time that persons have come forward to devote their attention to each branch. As activity in every direction is impeded by our social conditions, as the objectionable practices interfere with our national welfare, and as the solution is in our own hands without the aid of outside help, the social reformers think that social questions are among the most important problems which claim the attention of all who have the welfare of the country at heart; and they, therefore, devote themselves to this cause.

Some persons think that the question of social reform may be left behind in order that the other reforms may be pushed forward. In my humble opinion this is a grave mistake. Questions regarding political, industrial, economic and other branches that affect the welfare of society are all in one sense social problems. They are all inter-dependent. Social reformers do not

oppose reform in any other branch, as they think that progress in one helps progress in the other. Reformers in other branches who put obstacles in the way of social reform ought to remember that their act is suicidal, and by so acting they injure their own cause, as the effect of retarding social reform must react on their own branch.

Social reform questions have been under discussion for so many years by different gentlemen and from different points of view, that you cannot expect me to say anything new. But the arguments have to be repeated so long as the evil exists and a conviction is created in the people and they are moved to united action. The reformers are mostly opposed on religious ground, and I therefore propose to consider the reform questions from that standpoint within as brief a limit as my address will permit.

Our social customs and practices are so mixed up with religion that the cry of "religion in danger" is often raised against the efforts of social reformers. I am one of those who place religion above everything. All our acts must be based on true religion and morality. I shall be the last man to do or to advocate any act that would endanger true religion in the least degree. I say that the cry of "religion in danger" raised against social reformers is groundless, and that those who raise it show their ignorance of true religion. I shall briefly consider different heads of reforms from a religious point of view.

Can any religion prohibit education to develop faculties that are common to man and woman? There are instances in ancient time of educated women like Gargi, Lilavati, &c., discussing religious and scientific subjects. Our Rishis advocated female education and treated women with due respect and equality. Manu says: यत्रै नार्यस्तु पूज्यन्ते रमन्ते तत्र देवताः (Devatās

are delighted where females are respected). All our religious acts are enjoined to be performed by husband and wife together. The wife is called गृहिणी (manager of domestic affairs) and also सह चारिणी (the companion of her husband). She must, therefore, be fit by her education to be the husband's companion and to perform her domestic duties. The reform, therefore, of spreading female education and raising the status of women is not opposed to, but is supported by, the Shastras.

Child-marriage and early consummation thereof violate the law of nature which no true religion can permit. Our religion not only does not allow child-marriages but prohibits marriage before finishing the ब्रह्मचर्य stage of life, i. e., before finishing the course of education and training. Both the sexes are to pass through the ब्रह्मचर्य stage. They are to marry when they are fit by age and education to enter into गृहस्थाश्रम. The religious ceremony prescribes vows which can be taken only by persons who have attained majority. The old and much approved practice of Swayamvar shows that marriage after puberty was not regarded as opposed to religion. Thus the laws of nature and religion enjoin late marriages. Early marriages come in the way of the due performance of religious duties. It is, therefore, they who advocate early marriages and oppose reform that are really endangering religion.

The question of widow remarriage has been under discussion on the ground of religion and Shastras for many years; but prejudice arising from habits and customs and false pride has come in the way of correct interpretation and right conclusion in this matter. It cannot be fully discussed here in a short time. There are Vedic texts as well as the texts of authoritative Smritis showing that widow remarriages were permitted. Impartial and critical Sanscrit scholars have accepted the refor-

mers' interpretations of the Shastras in this matter. The Shastras ought to be interpreted consistently with the laws of nature and principles of morality. The Shastras aim at the moral elevation of the people. To lead a moral and married life is the motive of a marriage. For this purpose the Shastras enjoin that a female after she attains puberty should choose her own husband if her guardians neglect their duty to get her married. The purpose of marriage cannot be served when a girl becomes a widow before she attains puberty and is not allowed to remarry. To enforce widowhood on such a girl is, in effect, to prohibit her proper marriage which is against the spirit of the Hindu Shastras. To insist on the marriage of girls before puberty and, at the same time, to oppose the marriages of widows who have not attained puberty, are positions which are inconsistent with each other. Young widows are exposed to temptations, fall into vice, and commit very grave crimes and are consigned to a life of misery and degradation. We see the evil and immoral effects resulting from enforced widowhood. The authors of the Shastras who were moral and pure and were well-wishers of the people cannot be supposed to have sanctioned anything tending to their moral degradation. If Manu, Yagnawalkya and other greater Rishis were to rise to day they would be astonished to find their works, intended to elevate the people and raise their moral tone, perverted to support practices that tend towards immorality and degradation. Those who use the Smritis for the purpose of supporting improper practices, do injustice to their authors. Castes which prohibit widow remarriages must bear in mind that they thereby create impure and unclean surroundings about their own families, which would have the effect of lowering them morally and religiously. The priests

who advocate and the heads of caste who enforce this unnatural and cruel custom, are more responsible before God for the child murders and other unnameable crimes which are brought about by enforced widowhood, rather than the unfortunate woman whom they make the instrument of these crimes.

Some people say that love is the essence of marriage, that it is not separable even after death, and that this high ideal of Hindu marriage is lost by allowing widows to remarry. Love certainly is and ought to be the essence of a happy marriage. But love, to be real, must be mutual and reciprocal. No real happiness can be derived if love is one-sided. To be just, one must apply the ideal equally to man and woman. Does the husband preserve the high ideal when his wife dies before him? The husband marries another wife, sometimes within a few days of the death of his beloved consort. When the husband cannot maintain the high ideal, it is improper to use it against the weaker and more helpless sex.

But if the high ideal is intended only for women, it must be real and not exacted by force. Real love is and must be spontaneous. It loses its value and merit when force is used to give effect to it. It can be tested only when the action is optional. In practice we observe that it is not love but a cruel custom that restrains widows from remarrying. There is no meaning in an ideal when the ideal is never understood as such by the person to whom it is attributed. If remarriages are left to the choice of the widows, then only we can know who restrain themselves from remarrying on account of real love? By enforced widowhood we put all widows, whether pious or otherwise, on equal footing, leaving no opportunity to widows devoted to their departed husbands to follow the high ideal voluntarily. In this we do injustice to pious widows, who prefer to lead the

life of ब्रह्मचर्य. For the sake of maintaining the high ideal, therefore, option to remarry should be given to widows.

Such love as would restrain a widow from entertaining an idea of remarrying, could only grow when the woman has remained in her husband's company for some time. In the case of a child widow, who has never met her husband, such love can never exist. By prohibiting her remarriage, she is prevented from realizing the ideal of love.

Some of the persons who advocate enforced widowhood and are cognisant of its evil effects, suggest the establishment of widows' homes to enable them to lead a pious and useful life. How much honesty there is in those who use this argument as a ground for restraining widow remarriages, will be evident when we consider whether the opponents of widow remarriages have ever thought of establishing such institutions. They have done nothing in that direction. On the other hand, it is the reformers who have established such homes in Poona, Madras, Calcutta and other places, and have also taken other measures, such as training widows as school mistresses and nurses, etc., with a view to ameliorate their condition. The reformers have thus taken steps for those widows who do not want to remarry, to enable them to lead useful and moral lives. The reformers do not advocate enforcement of widow remarriages. What they say is that widows' homes do not solve the whole question, and that obstacles in the way of widow remarriage should be removed, and that young widows who wish to remarry should have the option to do so.

The question of widow remarriage has, in some places, now become a question of necessity. The number of female population in India is smaller than the number of male population. The number of widows below 19 years is 46,499, according

to the census of 1891, in the Bombay Presidency alone. Brides in some castes have become scarce. Plague and famine have increased the scarcity. Several remarriages in Gujerat have taken place as a result of this necessity. We thus see that widow remarriages must be allowed not only on the grounds of humanity, fairness, justice, necessity and social economy, but also on the grounds of true religion and morality.

The census of 1901 shows that this number in ten years increased to 75,491. The Hindu widows below 20 years alone numbered 69,291, *i.e.*, 2·3 per cent. of the female population, and nearly 7·6 per cent. of the married females of that age.

I now come to the question of caste. People think that the Hindu religion is centred in the maintenance of castes and sub-castes. But castes, as they now exist, were unknown to Vedic and ancient religion. Our religion makes mention of only four Varnas—Brahmin, Kshastriya, Vaishya and Shudra—and not of castes. The four Varnas were based on their qualifications and actions and not on mere birth. The Bhagavat Gita says चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्म विभागशः (I created four Varnas according to their qualifications and actions). The Shastras prescribe वर्णाश्रम धर्म (*i.e.*, duties of the four Varnas and four stages of life) and not of castes as they now exist. In former times one could by his own actions ascend or descend in the scale of Varnas. The text जन्मना जायते शूद्रः संस्काराद्विज उच्यते. (by birth everybody is a Shudra and he becomes द्विज by training) establishes this position.

Manu also says :—

(A Shudra can become a Brahmin and a Brahmin may degrade himself to the position of a Shudra.) There are several instances of persons of the lower Varnas having ascended to higher Varnas. Inter-dining was allowed among all the four Varnas,

and a male from any Varna could marry a girl from a Varna lower than his own. Such an excellent arrangement produced its good result. It made the Brahmins maintain their moral, intellectual, and spiritual superiority by learning and good actions, and it encouraged the other Varnas to make efforts to qualify themselves for promotion to higher Varnas. The nation was thereby enabled to advance in civilisation. The reformers aim at such an amalgamation as may limit the castes to the four Varnas as they existed in the Vedic times and the establishment of such intercourse between them as then existed.

Time does not permit me to discuss how such a good system happened to be so degenerated as almost to ruin the nation by innumerable divisions and sub-divisions. It is sufficient if we bear in mind the evil consequences and try to remedy them. It cannot be denied that the effect of the present caste divisions is very harmful in many directions. Caste organisations create a spirit of clannishness and narrow-mindedness. They destroy the feeling of brotherhood that must exist between the different communities. They give rise to intrigues and breed a desire of preferring caste interests to the general interests of the community. They give rise to caste jealousies, create a feeling of hatred between the different sections of a community, and tend to destroy the idea of common nationality. The caste organisations may have some advantages, but, on the whole, I am of opinion that strong caste organisations do more harm than good. There is no authority in Shastras prohibiting a Brahmin of one caste from dining with a Brahmin of another caste, and yet if a Brahmin of one caste dines with one of another Brahmin caste, he is excommunicated on the ground of committing a breach of religious duty. How can society make

progress and rise so long as such notions prevail? Everybody who has the good of the country at heart should seriously consider this question and try to introduce the old system which is supported by our ancient religion.

The question of foreign travel is nearly solved. People returning after a visit to European countries are now readmitted into the caste on certain conditions. Very few now think that foreign travels are against religion.

One of the most important problems of reform is about the raising of depressed classes. They form a large proportion of our community. Is it open to us, who are never sparing in commenting upon the conduct of Government in making race distinction and in giving preference to one community over another, to be making like distinctions and worse, between the different sections of our own community? To treat those as out-castes, who are outside our society, is to lop off an important organ out of our social constitution. By treating them as lepers of society we force them to leave our own society and embrace other creeds and religions. These considerations must not be lost sight of in looking at the question from a religious point of view. As shown above, our religion allows a Shudra to become a Brahmin by learning and good actions. Valmiki was a Shudra but his name is even now respected as a great Rishi. Tukaram, Kabir, Nanak, and other saints, who were not Brahmins, are held in high veneration even by Brahmins. The great Bhakta Narsi Mehta did not lose his caste though he openly associated himself with people of the depressed classes. Thus in elevating the depressed classes we are not acting in opposition to religion. I think we must take more interest in the elevation of the depressed classes and should help them in raising

their status and improving their condition and in increasing their usefulness to society.

The purity question includes both bodily and moral purity. Both these are enjoined by the Shastras. Owing to ignorance and superstition our people look more to the letter than to the spirit of the Shastras in this matter. The rules of sanitation being natural laws, no society can violate them with impunity, and the disregard of these rules has led to much unhealthiness and suffering in the country. As a matter of public health Government are attempting to do what they can, but success cannot be achieved unless we arouse ourselves to the importance of the question and devote our earnest labours in the cause. As regards the question of moral purity, it requires no saying that we must try to free ourselves from all immoral surroundings and associations.

Thus the cry of "religion in danger" raised against reformers is groundless. I think, as shown above, that true religion is in danger in opposing reform and in allowing the evil customs and practices to continue. I earnestly appeal to the opponents of reform to calmly and seriously consider this.

It is sometime asserted that reforms in old times were effected by Rishis, that the Acharyas and Shastris are the proper persons now to lead the reform, and that the reformers have no right or authority to guide the people and to introduce changes in their customs and practices. This brings us to the question as to who should undertake the work of reform? It must be remembered that nobody in old times asked the Rishis to undertake any reform. They were philanthropic and were the well-wishers of the people. They knew their duties and responsibilities. They cared not for praise or censure from the people. When they saw that any

social practices produced evil effects on society, they spontaneously of their own accord came forward and exerted themselves to introduce reform. If our Acharyas, priests and Shastris act like the old Rishis, realize their duties and responsibilities, and work for reform, we would all respect them and follow them. But many of them are not qualified by general education to take a broad view of the important social problems; their sympathies are generally not on the side of making reforms; they are mostly averse to introduce changes which may not find ready popularity with their followers, and their interests are more in the direction of opposing than making reforms. The question then arises, what should be done? Should important social problems remain unsolved, should society continue suffering and should we remain inactive in the face of these evils until these religious people are made alive to their duties towards the people? Our society has suffered sufficiently long and we cannot afford to wait.

Under the British rule we have got the benefit of western education and western ideas. We have come to know the social customs and conditions of the people of other countries. We have become more widely and more intimately acquainted with our own ancient literature and religious works, and new ideas, conditions and circumstances have sprung up. These circumstances combined opened the eyes of the early reformers to the magnitude of the evil that some of the customs and usages were inflicting on the country. They saw the necessity for reform and, actuated by a strong sense of duty, they devoted themselves to work earnestly in carrying it out. The spread of education has convinced many persons of the paramount importance of social questions in promoting the welfare of the country, and they consider it their duty to continue their efforts in the cause.

Some critics allege that there has been no appreciable results of the efforts of the reformers. It must be remembered that in a vast country like India, of which the people are enslaved by peculiarly rigid caste system, sunk in ignorance and superstition for several centuries, and imbued with conservative ideas, the work of reform must necessarily be slow. Substantial and all-pervading reform must take a long time to engraft itself on a society. The work done, however, during the last 60 years is not discouraging. Primary female education is spreading in all parts, and some ladies have acquired higher education and have obtained University degrees. A steady progress in raising the marriageable age is observable in all parts of the country. The number of widow remarriages is fast increasing. In this year there have been 15 widow remarriages in the Bombay Presidency alone. In four of these the brides' guardians were consenting parties and took part in the ceremonies, and the bridegrooms were graduates of the University. But the success is not to be measured merely by numbers. About a fortnight ago a large number of Brahmins and others attended a widow remarriage between the members of two respectable Brahmin families which took place under the patronage of His Highness Sayajirao, the illustrious Ruler of Baroda, to whom the cause of reform owes much for its advance. In the Anavla Brahmin caste a widow remarriage took place only a few days ago. A caste meeting was convened for the purpose of outcasting the marrying pair. But instead of outcasting them they, under the presidency of one of the leading and the most respectable families of the caste, approved of the marriage and rejected the proposal for excommunicating them. In a similar way a large number of the Lad Vaniyas of this city at a caste meeting expressed themselves in favour of introducing

widow remarriages in their caste. This shows how far the soil has been prepared for this important reform, and to what extent the sympathy for it has permeated through the masses of the most conservative communities. The question of foreign travel is nearly solved and the current in its favour is growing so strong in force and volume that the castes are unable to stem it, and have to yield to its forces. Caste prejudices are diminishing. Inter-marriages in some sub-divisions of castes have begun. More attention is being paid to religious and moral education. All this is encouraging.

The acts of the social reformers are often criticised by opponents as well as by friends. We welcome all discussion and criticism for the purpose of finding the truth, arriving at a right conclusion and acting wisely. There are some who think that we must try for revival of ancient institutions and not for reform. But mere revival will not suit our present condition nor will it serve our end. Call it revival or reform; we need not fight for words when we agree as to the necessity for change in the present customs. There are others who suggest reform on national lines. But, as well said by our friend Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, there is nothing in our programme which is against "rationally national."

One great point often urged is that the reformers are talkers and not workers, that they are lip-reformers, and that they have no moral courage to act according to their convictions. We must calmly consider these remarks and if there is any truth in them we must try to remove the complaint as much as possible. Our opponents lose no opportunity to misrepresent and abuse us. Their object in making such criticism is certainly not to help the cause of reform. They attack reformers with a view to dissuade people to

join our cause. Our reply to them should be that they are not fit to guide or advise us as to how we should act and what we should do to advance our cause, and that such criticism will not discourage us.

I wish to say a few words to friends and sympathisers who make such criticism with a view to advance the cause. In my humble opinion, their remarks are not well-considered, are often incorrect, and do more harm than good to the cause, inasmuch as many persons, though reformers at heart, do not join our cause and do not come to the front, for fear of being harshly criticised. Those who find fault with reformers for inaction, ought to remember that words are actions when they produce convictions in the minds of others, or actuate others to do an act. Different steps to complete an action are so many different acts. Doing anything that encourages others to do an act is a sort of action. In doing an act, one should always keep the ultimate object in view. No wise man does an act which would frustrate the purpose aimed at. We are working not for a few but for the masses and for the whole society. The moral influence that can induce others is likely to be lost by isolation. Our actions must be such as would advance and not retard our cause. Our work to be effective should, therefore, be done by remaining, as far as possible, in society. Circumstances of different places and different communities are different. An act which at one place may prove useful, may be harmful at another place. Different kinds of actions at different times and places are, therefore, necessary for the success of our cause. Our friends should bear in mind these points before finding fault with the workers for inaction. Those who criticise fellow-workers should seriously consider whether their criticism does not apply to

themselves. I do not in the least defend any person who fails to do an act which he ought to have done to further our cause. All I want to say is, that every reformer instead of criticising a fellow-worker should do what seems to him to be right and just, and set an example to others. If leaders fail to do their duty by not acting, those who criticise should come forward and take the lead. This, I believe, ought to be the position of friends of the cause.

In conclusion, I beg to offer a few suggestions as to our future plan of work. Our field of labour is very large, we have to contend against prejudices of very long standing, and our number is small; difference of opinions must exist as to methods. I think we must not waste our time and energy in fighting about methods when we agree as to the common aim. Let each try his own method and do some work, and sympathise, if not co-operate, with others who adopt other methods. Prominent workers in a province should meet often at different centres to discuss and decide as to what steps should be taken to further the cause in different parts of the country. Efforts should be made to establish associations in as many places as possible. Agitation must be kept up and carried on by lectures, pamphlets, and leaflets. We must not proclaim our victories in such a way as to offend others and create unnecessary opposition, but continue to work step by step to attain the final goal. We must not be disheartened by harsh or unjust criticism, or on account of a fellow-worker's weakness, but go on working with a sense of duty and responsibility, with earnestness and singleness of purpose, with devotion and perseverance, regardless of praises or censures, and, God helping this noble cause, success will be certain. Our motto should be, as said by a saint:—

“Love to God,
Service and love to the fellow-man.”

WELCOME ADDRESS

BY

MR. MANUBHAI N. MEHTA,

NAIB-DEWAN, BARODA,

*Chairman of the Reception Committee of the Social
Conference held at Surat.*

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to accord you a hearty welcome to this twenty-first Indian Social Conference. I bid this welcome on behalf of myself, on behalf of the Reception Committee, and on behalf of the city of Surat. The Social Conference meets this year in a city which has a proud heritage of historical traditions and an undeniable claim to the gratitude of all lovers of reform. Surat was once the chief emporium of the trade of the East and a rich mart for the exchange of merchandise from the East and the West. Under the Moghul Emperors it was the chief port in Gujerat for all the varied exports and imports of the land and was also known far and wide as the Gate of Mecca, whence pilgrims to the shrine of the Prophet embarked for Arabia. Its markets bristled with the flowing robes of merchants from Khorasan and Baghdad on the one side and Mongolian Mandarins on the other. Its fabled riches excited the cupidity of the illustrious Shivaji who sacked it again and again and carried off from its people a large amount of spoil for distribution among his sturdy soldiers. Surat was among the earliest towns in India that received the impact of European merchants from beyond the

seas. The Portuguese and the Dutch established their first factories on the banks of the Tapti, and the British East India Company, which soon followed, had its earliest settlement in this town. Bombay was then a fishermen's hamlet and it was from Surat that the East India Company transferred that island to their sovereign, the second Charles, as a dower for his royal consort. The "Queen of Western India that sits sceptred on the seven isles" was thus a protegee of Surat then and it was only when Surat was wrecked that Bombay found its opportunity and waxed fat at the expense of the elder city. Even the French people had their factory here and you will be interested to learn that the ground on which you stand to-day and which to this day is known as the French Gardens was once the cradle of the enterprise of that large-hearted and chivalrous nation. The French people have been well known for their love of liberty and affectionate hearts; and standing on this once French soil we offer you a characteristically affectionate and warm welcome.

We citizens of Surat are known in Gujerat as an impulsive and reckless people. We are believed to have amongst us no cold calculators, no subtle sophists, and no hard-hearted economists. We leap in the dark without looking ahead. Our local poet has taught us to cast circumspection and caution to the winds and rush to fill up the breach where our stronghold is being stormed. The circumstances under which we have invited the Indian National Congress and the Social and Industrial Conferences to unprepared Surat this year well illustrate this reckless rashness. We must have had a poor idea of your comforts and of our duty to make you happy in our midst to have undertaken to invite you at such short notice. We therefore crave indulgence for any shortcoming in the arrangements we had to improvise. We may assure you, gentlemen, that the defects you

might have noticed have not been due to any want of cordiality ; our welcome is all the more genuine, our goodwill all the more true.

It is but meet that the Social Conference meets this year in this city. Surat has been known as the home of reformers in Gujerat and the first pioneers of social advancement hailed from this town. The names of Durgaram and Mahipatram, of Nar-madashankar and Navalram are writ large in the history of the reform movement. They endeavoured to elevate the standard of female education in this province and to ameliorate the status of our women. They endeavoured to bridge the gulf between one sub-caste and another and to dispel the terrors of ostracism consequent upon foreign travel. They exposed the gross superstitions of our social and religious dogmas and endeavoured to dissipate the darkness of ignorance from our homes. They had a goodly following and their stern band of social reformers did a good deal to popularise the cause which we have met to celebrate to-day.

"By ceaseless change everything subsists;" so thought Heraclitus of old ; so sang Cowper ; and the European savants have pinned their faith to this belief in the immutable law of Evolution. Life is synonymous with change and growth, and is the negation of stagnation. To subsist one must move and adjust himself to the changing environments. Success in life depends upon the degree of skill with which you adapt yourself to the shifting surroundings. Nations that have been unduly rigid in lending themselves to the everchanging circumstances have gone and perished. Society is a complex organism, which in order to live must grow. And that growth, in order to be healthy, to be really helpful to progress, must be multiferm. You cannot exercise only one limb of your body and neglect the rest.

The result would be an unequal advancement, a disparity of growth. The limb over-exercised would grow elongated or crooked and become loose or over-flaccid by constant use. The muscle neglected would suffer from atrophy and become too rigid for any healthy use. A nation cannot strive to be politically free and be yet content with its industrial serfdom. It cannot seek its political or economic emancipation and also wear the chains of social bondage. If you are seeking political rights and privileges, it equally behoves you to shake off the manacles of social prejudice, ignorance and superstition. If you shut your eyes to the social activities and exercise only your political limb, the balance of power in the social frame is liable to be disturbed beyond all hope; there would be a certain deformity of the whole structure and a possible paralysis of the whole organism.

Society must advance on all lines if there is to be any stability in the progress achieved. It is no doubt true that there are some elements in our environment which it is not possible to change. Man is the architect of his own fortune no doubt; but he has to use the stone and mortar as he finds them; he cannot make them. He is a free agent to a great extent; but he is also subject to philosophical necessity and cannot control the law of causation. He cannot change his heredity for instance, nor his time or place of birth. If Luther had lived in times when Galileo was persecuted and Giordano Bruno burnt on the stake for their heresy, the Protestant Reformation could not have been associated with his name. If Aristotle had been born to Negro parents in Timbuctoo or Milton had seen the light of the world in Jericho, the world's literature could not have been enriched by the subtle politics of the Greek Metaphysician or the brilliant Paradise

Lost of the English Poet. If Bounaparte had only flourished in the time of Louis XIV. he could not have risen to be the Dictator and the Emperor. Times were not ripe then and they could not have anticipated time. There are these immutable factors in our destiny which no free will on our part can modify. But there are enough of other malleable elements in our environment which we need not despair to conquer. It is these factors in our surroundings which we must either alter or adapt ourselves to them if we want to survive the eternal struggle for existence.

What then have we to do? Before I request you, gentlemen, to deliberate on the ways and means of social advancement, you will permit me to take a stock of our humble achievements. It is a necessary formality of handing over charge of the sacred trust from the 20th to the 21st Social Conference. The subjects of social reform have been so well understood and so thoroughly discussed, that I will not detain you long with any scholastic dialectic on the points involved therein. We all know that the programme of the social reformers can be easily reduced to three main heads. They are : (1) matters relating to the individual, like social purity and temperance ; (2) matters relating to the family of the individual, which comprise questions of marriage and the status of woman, her education and her rights ; and lastly (3) matters relating to the community or caste to which the individual belongs. Thus though seemingly many they are all one ; and relate to the perfect individual. A man is not a whole man without his family, without his wife, who is only the man's complement and without his children, who supplement and prolong his existence. Man is a social animal and without the community or caste in which he has his being he is not perfect. Social reform concerns itself with the perfect man and aims at his infinite perfection.

Female education is likely to prove a potent solvent of great value for the prejudices and superstitions that are still rampant in our society. Woman is the strongest of orthodoxy in our country and is often a great obstacle in the way of reform which aims at her own elevation. Educate her and you will be able to counterpoise half the weight of the opposition which her conservative nature offers to you. Take recourse to legislation in the last instance if your combined efforts at persuasion or the communal efforts at coercion with the fear of penalties to be imposed by the caste are of no avail. If the State takes minors under its wings and leaves them free to repudiate contracts entered into during their minority, there is no reason why it may not be appealed to protect minor girls from the contract of matrimony. You may not penalise the offences against such law as we do at Baroda ; but there would be nothing unjust if your law courts decline to recognise marriages contracted below the statutory age when either party aggrieved by it seeks to avoid them afterwards or the validity of the marriage is disputed. There have been provisions for fixing the minimum age for marriage even in systems of jurisprudence which look upon matrimony as a sacrament and not a contractual relation.

Again, if the State legislature has salutary provisions for the pupilage of minors and their guardianship of person and property, should it have none for the protection of minor widows ? We appoint curators and committees for lunatics and prodigals but think there is no need to safeguard the interests of helpless widows. There are schools of correction and reformatories maintained by the State for delinquent children to reclaim them, but we see no necessity for similar institutions for child widows. There are asylums for lepers and asylums for thieves, who have

violated the laws of nature and the laws of the land ; but we have no home for the hapless widow, the person you have yourselves wronged and the victim of the tyranny of caste and social injustice. Has not woman a soul ? Emasculation is a crime and the cutting of nose is regarded as grievous hurt under our Penal Code as it mars the facial beauty of the person injured. Has not the enforced disfigurement of young widows an equally injurious effect on their personal appearance ? Does it not aim at defeminising them ? If there is a legal age for consent, should there be none for assenting to this compulsory disfigurement, and to this compulsory putting on of sackcloth and ashes by the young widow ? But who thinks of the poor wretch, condemned for no fault by the tyranny of custom ?

The question of widow remarriage is indeed a difficult nut to crack. We may not agree with the Sinore Banias in seeking the aid of State legislation to prevent the iniquity. But we can still do a good deal. Widows who are of an ascetic temperament and are not prepared to budge from their exalted ideal of conjugal fidelity will always win our greatest esteem. We have the greatest reverence for all such noble exemplars of self-adjunction and self-effacement. But there is no element of constraint in their case. There is a self-imposed disability, which can in no way justify our putting a restraint on the will of their frailer sisters. It ought to be our duty to treat such widows as are prepared to remarry with respect and sympathy ; and we must be ever ready to help them and remove all disabilities likely to attach to their altered status.

Only recently there was such a remarriage in high life at Baroda ; and the moral support received by the unfortunate bride and the bridegroom from the enlightened Maharaja Saheb

and his people ought to inspire us with a hope that there is still a bright future in store for these our helpless and unfortunate sisters.

The institution of caste we seek to reform by pulling down the barriers between sub-castes which originally sprang from the same parent stock. There was undoubted wisdom in our old institution of the four castes. It was admirably adapted to the times in which it started and anticipated in a way our modern division of labour and specialisation of faculties. This specialised practice of different civic virtues by different sections of the community, each pre-eminently fitted for the exercise of each, had the additional advantage of securing greater and greater perfection by heredity. Individual lifetime is short and unless the accumulated wisdom of the past is transmitted through heredity to the succeeding generations, no appreciable progress is possible in the brief span of life allotted to each generation, and it would be an uneconomic dissipation of energy and an imprudent waste of time if each generation forewent the benefit of the skill of its predecessor and commenced the exercise of a new faculty altogether. So far the institution of caste was a wise and prudent forethought. But when the four castes were split up into countless sub-sections and sub-divisions, the advantages of specialisation and division of labour, which yet left room for healthy co-operation, gave way and made room for petty rivalries and narrow-minded prejudices which have brought our society to the brink of ruin. Exclusiveness and isolation became the badge of social superiority and blue blood; and the lower castes blindly emulating the example of the higher, whether for good or for evil, became even more exclusive and self-contained. These results we all deplore and seek to remedy.

The sentiment of exclusiveness as a mark of social superiority is at the root of many other evils. The more exclusive a sub-caste grows, the more limited becomes the field for the selection of a suitable bride or bridegroom. The result is very often seen in ill-assorted marriages and unhappy unions. Blooming virgins have to be given away to shrivelled crones with one foot in the grave, or to lispng lads scarcely capable of realising the responsibilities of matrimony. Brides are often purchased like a piece of chattel on payment of exorbitant dower, especially when the bridegroom is past middle age and there is a paucity of eligible girls. Such an ill matched union often brings to the helpless girl an early widowhood and the resultant dependence and misery. Remove the barriers between these sub-sections and the field for selection of a suitable match will be much enlarged. The isolation of sub-castes involves a great deal of economic waste. Energies which could find much more profitable employment are frittered away after pursuits that could best be left to servants and menials. "Eight Brahmins and nine cooking yads" graphically illustrates the extent of the evil to which the prohibition of inter-dining among sub-divisions has reached.

The same feeling of pride prevents all co-operation between the different castes for any common object and comes in the way of the sentiment of common nationality. True patriotism cannot be fostered when every sub-caste finds its interests running in a distinct channel. If you want to nurse this healthy sentiment, you must endeavour to promote inter-marriage between all sub-sections of the same caste and encourage inter-dining between the several castes.

The pride of caste has shut our eyes to another instance of social injustice that is equally crying. Disabilities under which

the Antyajās or the depressed classes are labouring can hardly be defended. Even Shankaracharya, who brought about the revival of Brahmanism, allows salvation to the Shudra. If the regenerate classes pride themselves on their supposed origin from the mouth and the arms of the primæval Being, the Shydras emanated from His feet and are no less important factors in the economy of every village community. And yet we spurn them for the accident of their birth and deny them the commonest privileges of a citizen. It is curious to observe how their conversion to Christianity and anglicised habits renders them acceptable to the Hindu society, wherein as Hindus they could find no entry. Theocracy is well known as the worst form of tyranny and the Antyajās have long suffered under the Brahmanic sway. It is gratifying to observe that there has been a gradual revulsion of feeling of late in their favour and the efforts of the Arya Samaj bid fair to secure some recognition of their status. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar has, in this instance, also evinced his great desire to secure some measure of justice for these depressed classes at the hands of his people. Numerous schools have been opened in the State for the boys and girls of the Antyaja people, among whom also education has been made compulsory. Educated Antyajās find employment in the State as teachers in Vernacular schools for their castes and as mukadams under the Municipalities. Every endeavour is made to redeem this unfortunate class from the abysmal ignorance in which they are steeped. They are allowed free access to public buildings, schools and courts of law. If Sri Krishna has taught us—

समोऽहं सर्वं भूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।

ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् ॥

I am alike to all beings; to me none is hateful, none dear; but those who worship me with devotion dwell in me and I too in them. Is it not sacrifice to spurn them and heresy to hate them? They are chips of the same block from which we have emanated and are entitled to all our rights and all our privileges.

Connected with caste is the subject of sea voyages, a question on which I fain would hold my tongue, being myself an offender and a victim. I would not, however, let this occasion pass without conveying my sense of gratitude to my Surat brethren for agreeing to take me back within their fold. Surat in this as in many other matters has served the cause of reform and has proved how difficult social questions can be practically solved if only approached in a broad and liberal spirit of compromise. I would appeal to the other cities and towns of Gujerat to show a similar spirit of considerateness when handling this delicate question. I would remind them that it would not be always safe to hold their strings tight and oppose an unbending attitude to all endeavours at conciliation. Let not our necessity be seized as your opportunity. The victims are not likely to have an unbounded faith in the efficacy of all the prescriptions, especially when they are dictated more by greed than by any true sense of piety. By remaining too inflexible they are likely to defeat their own ends. The social exile, if he is not readmitted to the pale, is lost for ever to his old community; and with him is foregone all the benefit of the experience he is likely to have acquired from foreign travel. The loss of one valuable member counts for much when our society is fast dwindling and ever narrowing. We are not known for any proselytising spirit; we do not make converts or admit converts to our fold. Have we not a greater reason to

economise our resources and prevent the secession of any important member of our own community. Is there no truth in what is known as आपद् धर्म or the Religion of Necessity, which has no law and clearly dictates to us पथि शुद्रवदाचरेत् you may adopt the Shudra's mode of life when on travel. I have, on the other hand, read that at Darjiling most of the names that figure on the signboards of liquor shops show their Brahmanic descent and that Brahmin contractors supply mutton and even beef to the Army Commissariat in Northern India. But they have not travelled in foreign countries and are not put out of caste. Can greed for worldly gain achieve a more decisive victory over purity or piety?

This, then, is our present position. We must swim with the tide and move on lest we be swept out of existence. We must change and change for the better. If our nation is suffering from moral myopia, the spectacles we used ten centuries ago will be of no avail; we must have a new pair of larger power. The earth is moving; the heavens are moving; and if we want to retain a clear perception of what the heavens have to tell us, we must adjust and keep shifting the focus of our telescope and not keep it rigidly fixed. What are then the lines on which we should advance. I may assure you, Ladies and Gentlemen, that you will do best to follow the true old ideals, the truly national ideals of our own true Shastras. Reform is not revolution, it is not innovation, or an apeish imitation of foreign ideals. To be effective with the general masses it must aim at ideals which we call our own. When I request you, therefore, to reform your usages and customs, I do not ask you to rebel; we have rebelled enough against the laws of Nature, against the laws of morals. I do not ask you, for instance, to divorce your sacred ideal of marriage and turn it from

status to contract. To reform is only to alter or change the form, the outward manifestation, of the same old and true ideal. If the nation has outgrown its present forms, you have to enlarge them and not let its spirit feel cribbed, cabined or confined in its wornout habiliments. If you seek these true ideals in your ancient scriptures you will really find in them little to scoff at and much to pray to. The lives of Agastya and Lopāmudrá, of Arit and Anasuyâ, of Vasishtha and Arundhati, of Yájnyavalkya Maitreyi and Gárgi hold forth before you noble examples of sturdy independent men and learned, intellectual women. You will find in those times no parallel for the modern mockery of marriage where a baby bride hanging at her mother's breast figures with a baby bridegroom feeling sleepy before the sacred altar. Tara and Mandodari remarried the brothers of their deceased husbands under the orders of Sri Ramachandra. Damayanti gave no shock to her parents' feelings when she proposed to hold another Swayamvara after the loss of her dear lord, Nala. The legend of Narmada tells us how she remarried five times one after the other at the behest of the Supreme Being. These women are still revered by us as Satis, and yet you will turn askance if a young virgin widow in your family proposes to remarry. It is urged by some that the second marriage of a widow is कलिवर्ज्य or prohibited in these degenerate days, though sanctioned by the ancient Smritis. With these men we have no patience. Is there any reason why, if such unions were allowed in those blessed eras, when free man and free woman lived on equal terms and lived a simple life of piety, they should yet be disallowed in these luckless times when the habit of self-control has weakened, the society has grown complex and artificial, and plague carries off human hostages by millions. It is no doubt true that these old ideals of the Vedic, Epic and Rationalistic

epochs of our national history could not long retain their pristine purity and gradually got corrupted by the advent of foreign ideas. The invasion of the Scythians and other barbarians from the North-West destroyed, among other things, our noble ideal of womanhood. She gradually ceased to be regarded as the comrade and helpmate of man; and was looked upon as an inferior being, a mere chattel and an instrument of man's pleasure. With the death of the chief of the clan his wives were immolated on the pyre with his slaves, as a provision for his pleasure and his comforts in the future world. The practice of Sati deprived the woman of her separate individuality and fell in with the perpetual tutelage of women. Personal comforts of life came to be regarded as unessential for woman's existence, and vows and penance became the emblems of piety. The asceticism of the Buddhist Reformation finished this work of transformation out of which the old Hindu ideals emerged scarcely recognisable. They rallied for a time under the Brahmanic revival inaugurated by Shankaracharya, but the Mahomedan inroads and the conquest of India by foreign invaders sealed them up beyond reprieve. It is these old ideals that you are asked to revive; and it is in this sense that revival is not antagonistic to reform, as it is sometimes supposed to be. Society, like language, or constitution, must grow and cannot be made to order after the pattern of foreign ideals; but when it is only our own true ideals that we are asked to revive and resuscitate, there is no insurmountable difficulty. You have to apply boldly the surgeon's knife to the parasitic excrescences that have grown on the social body. The later transformations in the ideals were not necessary links in the evolution of those ideals; but were only accidental accretions of ethnic or political origin. Apply the pruning knife to these weeds and the glorious land-

scape will be restored to its original splendour. These are the national lines of reform, and they are the rational lines. There is no paradox here. There is eternal harmony between reason and the essential ideals of our Being. Forms are only empty husks and accidents and it is by reforming these forms that you can revive the true ideals.

What, then, are the methods that we have to follow? The problems confronting a social reformer are often more exacting than those his brother of the political association has to deal with. They demand of him an immediate personal sacrifice to a degree not insisted upon in the case of the latter. The most difficult of these problems, however, is about the method, the *modus operandi*, to be safely pursued by the lover of reform. You will observe that the one ingrained habit among our people is that of passive submission to authority in the political, in the religious or in the moral field. The influence of authority in matters of opinion has grown so strong that we have hardly retained any independent judgment or the capacity to think out for ourselves. This has engendered two opposite evils; excessive dogmatism, which brooks no questions on the one hand, and servile credulity which lacks the courage of original thought. Whenever we need any fresh light we endeavour to seek it in the revelation of the Vedas, in the Smritis or in their latter-day commentaries. Whatever we find in them we take on trust, not daring to interrogate our Reason, if it is just or unjust. This complete subordination of Reason to Faith has induced a deplorable helplessness of thought. We become fatalists and resort to *kismet*; or take shelter under the authority of a scriptural mandate and thus excuse our inaction. शब्दप्रमाण is no doubt a kind of testimony, but it is blind faith alone that can give it precedence over perception or reason. It is

no doubt necessary that we ought to have reverence for our superiors, for our elders, and for what they dictate to us. A due regard for antiquity, said Burke, is a necessary cause of a due solicitude for posterity. We should not, at the same time, forget that the old times were not really old; the world was then fresh and young; it is the modern times that are really old with all the wisdom and experience of age on their back. Revere the voice of the old scriptural commentators, but not when it conflicts with the voice of Reason, the voice of God from within. We are all manifestations of the Brahma and the Brahma resides within us; He sits enthroned in our conscience and let not His voice be drowned amid the dialectics of subtle debates. Learn self-reliance; it will help you in many ways. In obeying the call of Reason, the voice of your conscience, remember that you are only listening to the commandments of the Supreme Being.

There is an equal danger on the other hand against which we cannot sufficiently be on our guard. Do not let your self-reliance degenerate into license; let not any exaggerated notion of self-sufficiency make us despotic dogmatists. Impatience of hostile criticism is only an indication of an unphilosophic mind. Restrain your feelings and your emotions, your senses and your appetite. Neglect of self-control and neglect of discipline often landed our ancient preceptors and heroes into license. The ancient forms of inferior sonship, of polyandry and polygamy were types of this license and we need not acquiesce in them or seek to revive them. We must recognise the Divine element in our being and subordinate to it the brute in our body. Self-restraint will give you a tower of strength which you would do well to conserve for its right use at the critical moment.

The recognition of the Divine spark in our being will help us again to cultivate self-reverence. Knowledge of our ultimate destiny, of the Eternal and the Immutable Entity from whom we have all emanated and towards whom we all converge will acquaint us with the sacredness of the charge committed to us. Due recognition of this sanctity of our mission will purify the national character and justify the self-reverence we ought to feel for our participation in the Supreme Being. The development of sound character is even more important than the development of reason and of the intellect. Without a moral backbone the Greek and the Roman civilisation could not long endure. Pericles and Plato, Aristotle and Alexander were towers of strength in the political and the intellectual arena; but Greece lacked a moral stamina under the Selucides which hastened her downfall. Similarly, at Rome, Cæsar and Cicero were intellectual giants, but the license which prevailed under Caracalla and Caligula sealed the fate of the Roman Empire beyond redemption. With the development of our moral faculties it will be easy for us to appreciate the luxury of doing good to others. Self-sacrifice and self-effacement will then seem nobler than self-indulgence and self-advancement. These then are the three "R.'s" of moral culture—Self-reliance, Self-restraint and Self-reverence—which I commend to your attention. They are no less important than the other three "R.'s" of intellectual culture with which we are all familiar. Above all, the prime need of our country is the culture of our sense of justice. Man has no inherent superiority over woman, and they are both entitled to their just rights. We are all children of God and must not spurn the depressed classes for the accident of their humble birth. Our sacred song chants in our ears—

"All this Universe is Brahma
All that live and move and die,
Born in Him, in Him subsiding,
Ending in that Beng High."

The Divine voice thus inculcates the doctrine of Universal Brotherhood which forms a watchword of this Conference. As you love the glorious antiquity of India, give your descendants a just cause to love you. If we are proud of our past let us act in such a manner that the future may be proud of us. If we thus conduct ourselves as rational beings we shall have discharged our mission and will be giving our successors hereafter when referring to the present times the satisfaction of repeating with the Roman hero—

"Then none was for a party,
Then all were for the state;
Then the great man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great;
Then lands were fairly portioned,
Then spoils were fairly sold;
The Romans were like brothers
In the brave days of old"

Ladies and Gentlemen, I welcome you again and ask your sage advice on the points referred to by me.

THE ALL-INDIA TEMPERANCE CONFERENCE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

BABU NORENDRO NATH SEN,

Editor of The "Indian Mirror."

Ladies and Gentlemen,—This is the Fourth All-India Temperance Conference, and I think, I may say without any exaggeration, that it marks an important advance in the activities of the Temperance workers in this country. Last year, about this time, the Conference met in Calcutta under the shadow of an overwhelming grief in consequence of the death of that great apostle of the Temperance cause and sincere and ardent lover of India—the Right Hon. Samuel Smith—a death, which was all the sadder, because of its tragic suddenness, happening only two hours before that venerable figure, consecrated to the cause of suffering humanity, was to make its appearance on the Conference platform. Alas! that we shall have only to recall the memory of his hallowed name where his inspiring words should have once more poured upon our souls.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am deeply grateful to you for the honor you have done me by calling me to the Presidential chair of this Conference—an honor which I attribute to your kindness rather than to any merits of my own. I feel that this great honor might have been more suitably bestowed upon any one of the many worthy workers present here, who have done yeoman service to the cause of Temperance both in this country and in

England. I feel my unworthiness the more when I think that, of the past three Conferences, the first was presided over by our late veteran leader—the Right Hon. Samuel Smith—and the others by such distinguished pioneers of the Temperance movement as Sir Bhalkrishna Chandra, and the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. Since, however, you have called me to this duty, I must not demur. I can assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that, however poor my worth, I yield to none in this assembly in my appreciation of the good work which the Temperance movement has been doing in every part of the globe. Some of you may be aware that I represent a journal—the *Indian Mirror*—which has been advocating the Temperance cause for nearly half-a-century. The late Babu Keshub Chunder Sen, who was connected with that journal for many years, was the first Indian to lift his voice in England on behalf of the movement which has now established itself so powerfully in this country. His brother, the late Babu Krishna Behari Sen, M.A., who also had a long connection with the *Mirror*, was a member of the Bengal Temperance Commission of 1883. I think, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, that I may claim a family interest in the Temperance movement.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I come from a Province which has distinguished itself as one of the most active centres of the Temperance propaganda. The Calcutta Temperance Federation, which has proved itself a mighty power for good, counts among its workers many earnest, self-sacrificing philanthropists. Such men as Dr. Harold Mann, Mr. E. A. Goodwin, the Rev. Mr. Herbert Anderson, and Mr. B. R. Barber, who have devoted themselves heart and soul to the cause of temperance and purity, have laid the people of Bengal under a debt of obligation, which it is beyond their power to repay. From such a Province, I have come to another, which, too, through that excellent organisation

—the Bombay Temperance Council—has made a great name for its Temperance activities.

It is in the fitness of things, ladies and gentlemen, that this Conference should be held in a Presidency, where, on account of low taxation and of the prevalence of the District Monopoly system, intemperance has assumed colossal proportions. Bombay stands first in the list of consumers of alcohol; and it is strange that this ancient historic city, where we are met to-day, is one of the strongholds of intemperance. We know how strenuously has that great reformer—Sri Sankaracharya of Dwarka—laboured in this city to cure several castes of the vice of intemperance. It is well that the Bombay Provincial Temperance Conference should have held its last session in this city, on the 30th of March of this year, under the presidency of such a distinguished Temperance worker as Dr. Gostling.

Ladies and Gentlemen, of all the gatherings which will have been held at Surat during this Christmas week, none, to my mind, is fraught with such importance as this gathering of the Temperance workers, because the Temperance movement is not only a fight against vice, pauperism and misery, but an effort towards a higher manhood, a nobler civilisation. I attach the greatest importance to this movement, because it endeavours to make us good and efficient citizens—because it solves in a manner the problem of existence—because it affords a platform on which all nationalities can unite for their common welfare—because it is the strongest link in the chain that binds India to England. H. R. H. the Prince of Wales has said that sympathy is the key-note of British rule in India; and Mr. John Morley has also given expression to the same sentiment. British sympathy has ever been strikingly displayed with all movements tending to the social and moral elevation of the people. English-

men and Englishwomen come to India at great sacrifice to themselves on the sacred mission of Temperance. The names of such great pioneers of the movement as the late Mr. W. S. Caine, the late Right Hon. Samuel Smith, Mr. Herbert Roberts, Lord Radstock, Mr. William Jones, M.P., Mr. Kerr, Lord Kinnaird, and others will ever be remembered in India with feelings of the deepest gratitude. The Temperance movement admits of no political or sectarian differences—it stands on the broad basis of Universal Brotherhood—and its object is the redemption of those of our unfortunate fellow-beings, who have fallen from temptation to sin and from sin to misery. I cannot in this connection speak in sufficient terms of praise of the immense good which the various Christian Missionary bodies are doing in this country in the direction of the social and moral improvement of the people. Observed from all points of view, the Temperance movement, to my mind, is of the greatest importance to India and the Indians.

Ladies and Gentlemen, we meet this year under the most happy auspices, for it has been a year of marked advance in the work of the Temperance movement. It was on the 7th of September 1905, that the Government of India appointed a Committee to examine the excise administration of the country. The report of the Excise Committee was submitted to Government on the 4th July 1906, but was not published till December 1906, and a series of resolutions thereon appeared between May and August of this year. The Excise Committee, as you are aware, was appointed to devise measures for the establishment of uniformity in the excise administration of India. The scope of the inquiry was certainly not wide enough, for what the Temperance reformers wanted, was that there should be a systematic investigation of the causes of in-

creased intemperance, together with the formulation of definite measures for the mitigation of the evil. Even so, the Temperance workers rejoiced that some of the recommendations of the Excise Committee were of considerable value, and they hoped that effect would be given to them by the Government of India. It has been a matter of great disappointment to us that these recommendations, though falling very short of the public demands, have not been accepted in their entirety by the Imperial Government. It was with a view to representing the case fully to the authorities in England that a deputation representing the Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, headed by Lord Kinnaird, waited on Mr. Morley at the India Office on the 1st of August last. The deputation pressed for a further inquiry by a Committee composed of officials and representative non-officials, to go into the whole question of the Indian Excise and to impose further measures of restriction on the consumption of intoxicants. Mr. Morley was sympathetic, as he always is, and he went so far even as to admit that the drinking habits of the people were on the increase, that the drink traffic in India was a "new, dire and additional plague," and that there was a case for putting down the abnormal growth of the evil. He remarked: "It was shocking to think that while we were flattering ourselves that we were spreading Western civilisation to the East, we were spreading what was one of the main causes of the ruin of much of the social work done in the West. From these remarks, it might be supposed that Mr. Morley readily fell in with the suggestions of the deputation, but it was not so. The words of sympathy were the words of Mr. Morley, and not of the Secretary of State. With all that, ladies and gentlemen, we must confess that we have scored a victory—a great moral victory—for we have conclusively proved the need of effective action.

I do not propose to go into a detailed examination of the Excise Committee's report, nor of the measures and methods of excise administration in this country. But there are one or two points, which it is necessary to allude to in this great gathering of Temperance workers. It is an indisputable fact that what is known as the auction system has been the cause of an increase in the general consumption of spirituous drinks. We want to have this system abolished. Our second demand is that the power of licensing should be withdrawn from the Revenue authorities. We next ask that what is known as the system of local option should be rigidly enforced, and that effective safeguards should be prescribed against juvenile drinking. I do not think that our demands are either unreasonable or excessive. "A Government should legislate," said Mr. Gladstone, "as to make it easy to do right and difficult to do wrong." We hope to see this wise maxim of the greatest Liberal of England carried in practice by his faithful disciple who presides over the fortunes of India to-day. The Government of India have declared explicitly that "their settled policy is to minimise temptation to those who do not drink, and to discourage excess among those who do." They have further laid down that "fiscal considerations in connection with the liquor traffic are important, not as an end in themselves, but simply because" the most effective method of forwarding the policy of Government in regard to consumption, is to make the tax upon liquor as high as it is possible to raise it, without stimulating illicit production to a degree which would increase, instead of diminishing, the total consumption, and without driving people to substitute deleterious drugs for alcohol or a more for a less harmful form of liquor." Well, ladies and gentlemen, we take our stand on this declaration. We ask

Government nothing more than that they should faithfully follow the policy which they have laid down.

But though Government have not been able to overlook the fiscal considerations altogether, inasmuch as they rigidly adhere to the auction and other systems, which can be justified on the ground of bringing more revenue only, we must give them due credit, by acknowledging that their attitude has, on the whole, been one of sympathy towards the Temperance movement. The appointment of the Excise Committee, coupled with the concessions which Government have promised to make, would seem to show that had the revenue question not stood in the way, Government would have struck a destructive blow at the liquor traffic in India. A Government like the British Government cannot be supposed to be inimical to the social and moral interests of its subjects in India. Having regard to the results achieved, I have no doubt, you will agree with me in thinking that we have made a great advance in our work.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I hear it often remarked by some of my countrymen—and you hear it too—that the mendicant policy of the old Indian leaders has done no good to the country, and that, if we are to succeed in any of our national endeavours, we must take up a fighting attitude. I am unable to accept this proposition, and those who have watched the rapid growth of the Temperance movement on the lines of constitutionalism and moderation, will, I feel sure, say with one voice that the proposition is radically wrong. As a body of non-aggressive, peaceful workers, the Temperance reformers have achieved victories which are, in every respect, more renowned than those obtained by political combatants in any country. There is no part of the globe where the Temperance Missionary has not made his influence felt. In England, the drink evil has

received a decided set-back through the efforts of the Temperance propaganda. We hear of a vast Temperance organisation even in Russia, where the liquor traffic is solely controlled by the Government and forms the bulk of its revenue. We cannot say that drink, in some form or other, was unknown in India before the British came to the country, but it goes without saying that the Indians in the olden days were a proverbially sober and abstemious nation. Drinking is interdicted in the strongest terms by Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, and many other religions of India. The evil struck its root in India in the middle of the last century, as an outcome of the false aspect of English civilisation, which was prominently held up before the Indians of those days. In the Province from which I come, the evil at one time grew to what I may call the most alarming proportions. In the days that I speak of, drinking was the prevailing fashion among the educated Bengalis. The first Temperance movement that was started in Bengal was the Bengal Temperance Association, the founder of which was the late Babu Peary Churn Sircar. The Association had a monthly organ called the *Well Wisher* and it memorialised Government time and again to appoint a Committee to investigate the drink problem. The campaign was taken up with whole-hearted zeal by the Brahmo Samaj under the leadership of Babu Keshub Chunder Sen. Bands of Hope were established, tracts, journals and pamphlets published, and lectures incessantly delivered by the Brahmo Missionaries to produce a wholesome horror in the mind of the rising generation against the vice of drink. When Keshub Chunder Sen visited England, he spared no efforts to convince the British public of the immense harm that the Government policy in relation to the liquor traffic was doing in India. It was on account

of his powerful advocacy that the Government of India caused an inquiry to be made into the working of its liquor policy. It was then that Lord Northbrook, against the wishes of his financial advisers, recorded an emphatic decision "that the number of liquor shops should be reduced to the utmost degree compatible with the requirements of the neighbourhood." In the revision of the Bengal Excise system, consequent on these discussions, several steps in advance were taken as embodied in Act II. of 1876. The Brahmo Somaj fought the temperance battle valiantly through a long series of years. Babu Krishna Behari Sen, the brother of Keshub, was a member of the Commission that was appointed by the Government of Sir Rivers Thompson. The most valuable concession resulting from the Commission was the declaration made by the Government of Bengal, about 21 years ago, that "no considerations of revenue can be allowed to outweigh the paramount duty of Government to prevent the spread of intemperance, so far as it may be possible to do so." The good work of the Brahmo Somaj has borne its fruit. Although the Government policy has not materially changed, the tendency among the educated Bengalis to "follow the fashion," has received an effective check. The drinking habit has perceptibly declined among the educated Bengalis, but, I am sorry to say, that it has, on the other hand, made considerable progress among the illiterate labouring classes, especially those employed in mills, factories, collieries and tea plantations. I regret very much that the Brahmo Somaj, in recent years, has relaxed its Temperance activities.

The history of Bengal, I fancy, is more or less the history of every other part of India. The demon of drink is to be reckoned with now-a-days not so much among the educated as the ignorant classes. The Temperance workers

and the Government alike recognise that the evil is increasing. In 1874, the amount of revenue drawn from liquor in India was £2,755,000, and in 1966-7 it had come up to £6,510,000. The figures show that in the place of one there are now three habitual drinkers in India. However, we have no cause to despair. The Temperance movement is doing more good than appears on the surface. The Anglo-Indian Temperance Association, which was founded by the late Mr. Cairne in 1868, to obtain reforms in the excise policy and administration of Government, has now nearly three hundred branches in India affiliated to it. We have in Bengal an excellent organisation, called the Calcutta Temperance Federation, founded in 1901, and there is a similar organisation in Bombay, called the Bombay Temperance Council. The two temperance journals—the *Abkari* in London, edited by Mr. Frederick Grubb, and the *Indian Temperance Record* in Calcutta, edited by Mr. E. A. Goodwin, which are powerful organs of the Temperance cause—deserve prominent notice. What good the various Temperance Societies are doing in India, will be judged from the fact that the Army Temperance Association, of which our present Commander-in-Chief, Lord Kitchener, is a staunch supporter, has over 26,000 members on its roll, the result being, that there has been a steady decrease of intemperance among the British soldiers in India. The Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Imperial Order of Good Templars and other organisations, with which are associated thousands of earnest Christian men and women, are also doing considerable good. Among the purely Indian organisations taking an active interest in the question, are the Indian Social Conference, the Kayastha Conference of Behar, the Arya Somaj and the Deva Somaj of the Punjab, and also the Brahmo Somaj, although, as I have already remarked, its

activities have greatly fallen off as compared with the past. Among the great Temperance pioneers who have passed away, the name of Mr. W. S. Caine is one that will live longest in the grateful memory of the Indian people. It was Mr. Caine who, after two successive visits to India during which he instituted a careful inquiry into the liquor laws of the country, got Mr. Samuel Smith to move the following memorable resolution in the House of Commons on the 30th of April 1886 :—

“That, in the opinion of this House, the fiscal system of the Government of India leads to the establishment of spirit distilleries, liquor and opium shops in large numbers of places where till recently they never existed, in defiance of native opinion and the protests of the inhabitants; and that such increased facilities for drinking produce a steadily increasing consumption and spread misery and ruin among the industrial classes in India, calling for immediate action on the part of the Government of India with a view to their abatement.”

Mr. Caine himself, it may be mentioned, seconded this resolution in a vigorous speech. Among other distinguished Temperance workers whom we have lost recently are the Rev. Mr. Thomas Evans, Mr. Kali Churn Banerji and Mr. Ananda Mohan Bose. However, it cheers us to find in our midst our English brothers and sisters, encouraging us by their presence to carry on the sacred mission which they have entrusted to us for our own social and moral elevation. Miss Agnes Slacke, Miss Florence Bulgarnie, Dr. Rutherford, and Mr. R. Laidlaw are all towering personalities on the English Temperance platform. Lord Kinnaird, Mr. J. H. Wilson, M. P., Mr. Herbert Roberts, M. P., and Mr. William Jones, M. P., are among the other names with the Temperance movement. Such men and women constitute the salt of the race to which they

belong. So long as there are such warm-hearted philanthropists and friends of India, we need have no mis-giving as to the relations between England and this country.

I think our Provincial Associations deserve the full meed of praise for their successful operations. There is evidence on every side that the Temperance cause is winning. We have it on the authority of the esteemed Joint Secretaries of this Conference—Sir Bhalchandra Krishna and Mr. D. D. Gilder—two names well-known in India—that the aboriginal tribe of the Gonds in the Central Provinces have organised a movement among themselves for total abstinence. Through the efforts of Dr. Mann, no less than fifteen grog shops have been closed in Calcutta, and the authorities have been prevailed upon to enforce a stricter observance of the law with reference to hours of closing. Dr. Mann has, indeed, as aptly observed by a well-known publicist of Calcutta, “realised the religion of citizenship.” A Committee, composed of officials and non-officials, is now sitting in Calcutta to inquire into the conditions of the liquor traffic in the city. This is another result of the work of the Calcutta Temperance Federation. The Bombay Temperance Council has also been the means of closing many liquor shops in that Presidency. These results would not, of course, have been possible without the sympathetic help of Government. The Government attitude towards Temperance work cannot be other than sympathetic when we see the Governments of Madras and Bombay prohibiting the sale of intoxicants to juveniles under the age of fourteen, and the Directors of Public Instruction in the United Provinces, the Punjab and in Bombay prohibiting the use of cigars and cigarettes in schools. These are welcome signs. The Government, I may say, appreciates Temperance endeavours, but is

unable to carry out excise reform as fully as it may wish for fear of loss of revenue.

After all is said, ladies and gentlemen, the work of the Temperance reformer must continue to be an up-hill work for a long time yet to come. The drink curse has laid a firm hold on the country. A perusal of the excise literature will show that the consumption of foreign spirits is increasing among the middle classes, which was not the case before. As regards country spirits, which, like foreign spirits, are distilled, the several Provinces stand in the following order according to the quantities consumed: 1, Bombay; 2, the Central Provinces; 3, Sind; 4, the United Provinces; 5, Madras; 6, Bengal; 7, the Punjab; 8, the North-Western Frontier Province; and 9, Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Bombay Presidency, which tops the list, consumes more than one-third of the distillery liquor, and Surat is the capital sinner in the whole of this Presidency. Drinking, as you know, is strictly prohibited among the followers of Islam: and that is apparently the reason why Eastern Bengal, the bulk of whose population is Mahomedan, is the smallest consumer along with the North-Western Frontier Province, another Mahomedan Province. Noakhali, in Eastern Bengal, is the most sober district in all India on account of its large Mahomedan population, and it is a prosperous district on that account. Baluchistan is a very poor consumer of alcohol for the same reason. But, as among the Hindus, so among the Mahomedans, religious interdiction notwithstanding, the poison has made its way. At one time Eau-de-Cologne was sold largely in the Backergunj District in Eastern Bengal, and the duty on it, therefore, was enhanced. It was found that this article of perfumery, on account of its alcoholic properties,

was used as an intoxicant by the Mahomedan population. The Tantric system is responsible for the introduction of the drinking habit among the Hindus. Drinking is prohibited among the Jains and Vaishnavas who are the most sober sects among the Hindus. Monghyr, in Behar, stands high in regard to the consumption of liquor, and toddy-drinking has found the greatest vogue in Madras. Among the Beharis, certain religious rites proscribe drinking. There is a large consumption of beer by the Indian population, especially country beer. There is a widespread belief that spirits are a prophylactic, and, therefore, the consumption of liquor has been unusually large in those parts of India which have been attacked by plague year after year. On this subject, we have a noteworthy statement by the Hon'ble Mr. J. M. Douie, Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, to the effect that the plague has been most severe and most persistent in those very districts in the Punjab where drinking habits already prevailed. He says that "it will be an addition to the tale of evils which plague has brought in its train, if it leads to any permanent increase in drinking habits." Famine, however, leads to diminution of consumption.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have dwelt so far chiefly on one aspect only of intemperance—drink. But there are other intoxicants, such as ganja, charas, opium, cocaine, &c., which are poisoning the Indian population to no small extent. Ganja, including charas, is most prevalent in the Punjab, the United Provinces, Eastern Bengal, Behar and Calcutta. Bombay also is a consumer of this drug. Charas is very prevalent in the Central Provinces. In Mymensingh and Dacca, in Eastern Bengal, ganja is consumed mostly by the *manjis*, that is, boatmen. The Naogaon Sub-Division in the Rajshahi District is the only tract in Bengal where ganja is grown, and the

drug manufactured within an area of 10 square miles under strict supervision. It is a good policy that Government does not allow ganja to be grown anywhere else. The Hemp Drugs Commission of 1897 found that the Bengal system was the best, and recommended its adoption by other Provinces. Between seven and eight thousand maunds of ganja are grown every year. The price of the drug has gone up in consequence of an increase of the license fee and duty—and that is certainly a matter for congratulation. Charas is prepared in Yarkand in Central Asia. With regard to opium, the recent policy of Government has been most satisfactory. It was in the fitness of things that England having demoralised China, should have come to save her from destruction. The opium edict, enacted by the Chinese Government, has had the effect of reducing the opium cultivation in India by one-tenth. The quantities of opium disposed of at the periodical sales held by Government, have shown a marked reduction which will continue from year to year for a period of ten years, after which the opium traffic will be given up. The loss of revenue therefrom will amount to three crores of rupees. The opium policy of the Indian Government has been greatly modified in recent years, and Government will give full effect to its policy in ten years. The opium habit is greatly prevalent in Assam, as in Burma. The Beharis are strongly addicted to intoxicating drugs and all kinds of excisable articles generally. Cocaine is the most recent addition to the deleterious drugs prevalent in India. You are aware that cocaine is derived from the coco plant grown in Peru in South America. Like alcohol, it is a purely Western vice introduced in India. Cocaine, in its deadly effects, beats all other intoxicating drugs put together. It holds out a stronger temptation than drink. The immediate effect is a delightful feeling of langour; the ultimate effect is ruination

of mind, body and soul. In Europe and America, the drug is usually taken by injection, but the "pan supari" is the Indian method of assimilating the poison. Cocaine was introduced in Calcutta from Monghyr (not Bhagalpur) in 1904, and it spread to such an alarming extent all over the country, within a short time, that Government found it necessary to prohibit the sale of the drug by any one other than a licensed vendor. The drug has been brought under the operation of the Excise law, and, no doubt, the restrictions placed upon its importation and sale have checked further growth of the vice. It was claiming its victims by hundreds among the juvenile population. In 1904, a shipment of cocaine, worth a lakh of rupees, arrived in Calcutta, but the Excise Department fortunately intervened, with the result that the shipment, which was enough to poison the whole of the population in India, was sent back to England. Cocaine is a good thing for medical purposes, but produces the contrary effect if taken as a stimulant. These are the enemies which the Temperance reformers have to fight in India.

Ladies and gentlemen, in this necessarily hurried sketch of the Temperance movement, I need make only a passing reference to the most recent excise measures of the several Provincial Governments. Turning first to the Madras Presidency, I am glad to be able to say that the policy of the Provincial Government has been to restrict the output of liquor by enhanced taxation and by curtailment of the number of shops. As a result, the consumption of country spirits in 1905-06 fell off by over fifty thousand gallons, as compared with the preceding year. The Madras Government has increased the taxation on country spirits in certain districts, with a view to preventing an increase of consumption. The question

of enhancing the tree-tax in order to check the toddy evil has also received attention. The number of licenses issued for the sale of foreign liquor has been reduced from 808 to 799. The increase of excise revenue in 1905-06 was only 1·7 per cent., due, it is said, to the higher rentals obtained for the shops. As regards the Bombay Presidency, we hear a distinctly mournful note regarding the financial results of the excise administration, in the pages of the Annual Report of that Department for the past year. It is distinctly admitted that one of the reasons for the very small increase of revenue is the spread of the Temperance movement. One fact stands out prominently in the resolution of the Bombay Government, and this is that, as a result of the auction system, shopkeepers, who have paid highly for their shops, use every endeavour to attract customers and stimulate sales of liquor. The most discouraging feature, from the temperance point of view, is a sustained increase in consumption among the primitive agriculturists, such as the Bhils, and the labouring classes. The greater demand for labour would appear to have occasioned a greater rise in wages, the latter leading, in turn, to greater consumption of what is regarded by the ignorant classes as the fashionable beverage. The revenue derived from the sale of intoxicating drugs appears to have risen very appreciably in the Bombay Presidency. The accounts from the Punjab are less satisfactory. The Government of the Province announces a continued growth of the excise revenue, amounting in three years to a rise of 8½ lakhs of rupees. This growth is apparent in every class of receipts. It is attributed to the stimulus of plague and to general prosperity and high wages. The replacement of outstills by the distillery system in certain districts, the raising of the duty on country spirit in others, and alterations

in the duties on hemp drugs, are the leading features of the excise administration of the United Provinces. The total receipts in the past year amounted to Rs. 9,129 lakhs as compared with Rs. 10,907 lakhs the year previous, the decline being mainly attributable to the falling off in the receipts from foreign spirit. The Provincial Government has had under its consideration some important modifications of the local excise system. In the Central Provinces, the chief feature of the excise administration is an enormous increase of the revenue from country liquor. The Local Administration thinks "that industrial development connoting high wages among the labouring classes must infallibly be accompanied by a greater indulgence in liquor," in spite of the measures taken to increase duty, to reduce and regulate shops and to improve the excise administration. It is gratifying to learn that a reduction of nearly 25 per cent. has been effected in the number of liquor shops in those Provinces. In Bengal proper the excise revenue of the past year exceeded that of the previous year by $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. Country spirit and opium appear to have contributed to this increase, while there was a decline of about half a lakh in the receipts from ganja. More than one-fourth of the total revenue from country spirit was collected in the town of Calcutta. The increase of population and the increase of wages are given as reasons for the rise of the drink traffic in the metropolis. There was at the same time a large increase in the number of convictions for drunkenness in Calcutta and suburbs. The full effect of the contract system of supply is being carefully watched by the Excise authorities in Bengal, and it is said that the new system has checked drunkenness in the district of Darjiling. Large reductions in the cultivation of opium are in progress in Behar. The opium habit which was for-

merly most prevalent in Assam and Chittagong, next to Burma, appears to have spread to Orissa. Calcutta, the 24-Pergunnahs, Hughli, Behar and Chota Nagpur are the greatest consumers of country spirit. The use of ganja is most prevalent in the Dacca Division and also in Calcutta. The measures taken against the spread of the cocaine habit have been successful in checking illicit supplies, but it is said that persons who have acquired a debased taste for such stimulants are turning to other like stimulants. In the new Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam country spirits, ganja and opium are the principal sources of the excise revenue. There was an increase of 96 per cent. in the excise receipts last year. Sales of imported liquor have been very largely diminished in Eastern Bengal by the Swadeshi movement. The opium habit would appear to be increasing in Eastern Bengal, especially among the cultivating classes and the hill people. Burma is a consistent patron of opium, but there was a marked decrease in the revenue derived from it last year. Ganja, morphia and cocaine are also very much in vogue in Burma, and the latter especially is said to have taken a real hold on the Burmese in some districts. The Lieutenant-Governor has ordered the publication of leaflets in Rangoon and other places, describing the harmful effects of morphia, so as to induce the people to abandon this most pernicious habit. It may be mentioned that the recent Excise Committee did not include Burma in their investigations.

From the foregoing sketch, you will see, ladies and gentlemen, how stupendous is the work that lies before the Temperance reformer. Much—very much—has no doubt been done in the past, and, indeed, it may be well said that, but for

the Temperance movement, the country by this time would have been ruined by drunkenness. Drink is the chief enemy we have to fight against. I do not think that Government will hesitate for a moment to accede to the demands of the Temperance party, but that fiscal considerations stand in the way. Yet, time and again, Government have made valuable concessions to the Temperance cause. I may refer, in particular, to the Despatch of the Secretary of State to the Government of India, dated the 4th February 1890, which enunciated four important principles, *viz.*, (1) that the taxation of spirituous and intoxicating liquors and drugs should be high, and in some cases as high as it was possible to enforce; (2) that the traffic in liquor and drugs should be conducted under suitable regulations for police purposes; (3) that the number of places at which liquor or drugs can be purchased should be strictly limited with regard to the circumstances of each locality; and (4) that efforts should be made to ascertain the existence of local public sentiment, and that a reasonable amount of deference should be paid to it when ascertained. This Despatch, which was the outcome of Mr. Chene's vigorous agitation in Parliament, is regarded as the Magna Charta of the Temperance movement. Ladies and gentlemen, I would draw your attention in this connection to the opinion expressed by such a high authority as Sir Frederick Lely, C.S.I., late Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. He stated in a communication to the Government of India: "Abkari revenue, though it represents the chief means of repression in the hands of the Government, yet bears a stain upon it. The money could be better got in almost any other way. There are large tracts of country where reductions and remissions of land revenue and increase of labourers' wages only mean

more expenditure in drink. There are large numbers of young men of the better class who are lost to the State and their families by acquiring the habit. Numerous shops exist in frequented high roads, near markets, near mills, veritable traps to catch the weak, the thirsty, the tired, at their most susceptible moments. It should, in my opinion, be made a standing order that all shops should gradually and considerably, but as soon as it is possible, be removed to not less than half-a-mile from places of common resort, such as main thoroughfares, markets, mills, docks, villages." There is another passage in that admirable document which will bear repetition: "I have never met a native, official or unofficial, intelligent or otherwise, who does not firmly believe that Government fosters the traffic for the sake of revenue and would not willingly let it go."

Ladies and gentlemen, it may be hard to give up long-standing interests, but they can and should be given up if they clash with righteousness. I do not believe that the abandonment of the excise revenue will mean any financial disaster to the Indian Government. It may be possible to find other sources of revenue or to balance the loss by proportionate reduction of the admittedly too heavy expenditure of the Indian Administration. Larger employment of the Indian agency in the administration of the country is one of the means by which India can be governed on economical lines. I will just give an instance to show that a Government without any excise revenue can be more prosperous than a Government that draws all its revenue from excise. On the 15th December 1904, there was introduced into the House of Representatives of Japan's Imperial Diet, a Bill prohibiting the use of any and all kinds of liquor by young persons under twenty years of age, and also prohibiting the sale of any kind of liquor to minors. The Bill was strongly supported and became the law of

the land. In 1900, a Bill called "the Anti-Smoking Bill for Minors" was passed by the Imperial Diet to have effect from the 1st of April 1905. You can well understand from these facts that Japan's excise revenue is merely nominal. On the other hand, from time immemorial the greatest income in the Russian Empire has been from the liquor tax. But can it be said that physically, morally and intellectually, Russia is better than Japan to-day, or that Japan has become poor, while Russia has become rich? I do not believe, therefore, that the Indian Government cannot go on without its excise revenue—a revenue that is clearly ill-gotten revenue.

Ladies and gentlemen, a solemn and sacred responsibility rests with England, in governing this country on moral and righteous lines. Drunkenness has been described as England's national sin, her national shame. The demoralisation of the "native" races governed by England has assumed gigantic proportions, and it is time that England should awake to this fact. Of what use is the preaching of Christianity to the "heathens," so long as Christianity is associated in the "heathen" mind with drink and drunkenness? The Indian people have adopted the Christian habit of drinking, and in this lies the disgrace of the Christian Government that rules over them. The drink traffic has been "a grievous injury—a burning iniquity" to the "native" races all over the world, and I may be permitted to tell my Missionary friends that this Drink Demon has been the greatest foe to the progress of Christianity. The Maoris of New Zealand and the Indians of North America have been degraded by the accursed fire-water. They say that because of it they spit at the name of Christian. That is the case also with the wild races of Australia, the fighting Kaffirs, the Hottentots, the West Coast

Negroes, the Singhalese and the aborigines of Canada. An Australian legislator has said: "Christianity and civilisation mean to the natives gin and syphilis. For every native converted to Christianity a hundred are made drunkards. By drink they melt before us like snow before the sun" No wonder it is said openly that Christianity and drunkenness are synonymous terms. China has been demoralised with opium and India with alcohol only for the sake of England's revenue greed. In 1874, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain speaking at Sheffield said: "If I had an enchanter's wand, if I could destroy to-morrow the desire for strong drink in the people of England—what changes should we see? We should see our taxes reduced by millions sterling a year. We should see our gaols and workhouses empty. We should see more lives saved in twelve months than are consumed in a century of bitter and savage war. We should transfigure and transform the face of the whole country." Similarly, we, the Temperance workers in India, may exclaim: "If we could but make Government give up its greed for excise revenue, what changes should we see? We should see our taxes reduced by lakhs of rupees a year; we should see the poverty, misery and physical and moral degeneration of the people removed. We should see more lives saved in twelve months than are consumed by famine and plague for a series of years. We should make India healthy, wealthy, happy and wise."

Ladies and gentlemen, having once admitted that of all social reforms, Temperance reform is the most essential—the most beneficent, we must recognise the supreme necessity of organising a strong force of public opinion, such as Government will not be able to withstand, for a substantial modification of the rules of excise administration. Public opinion, as our English friends present here know very well, has done wonders in

England. Statistics collected a short time back showed that there was an average expenditure of £4-2s-6d on drink by each man, woman and child in the United Kingdom. The drink expenditure of the British nation amounted to £250,000,000 a year. In twenty-five years, more than four million "drunk and disorderly" cases were brought before the English Courts, irrespective of the aid of the Police. So alarming was the drink traffic at one time that Mr. Chamberlain remarked at Birmingham: "If we are silent, the very stones will cry out." The British public did speak shortly after—in a voice that shook Parliament. They found that the evil lay in vested interests—in powerful monopoly, and they put forth all their power to break the unholy confederacy. Ministries had favoured the publicans, because a considerable portion of the revenue was derived from the drinking habits of the people. Some 197 Peers, 129 M. P.'s, 880 titled personages and—more shocking still—upwards of 1,000 Christian religious ministers were found pecuniarily interested in the maintenance of the liquor traffic. Could national disgrace have gone further? Well, ladies and gentlemen, public opinion has turned the tide in England. The signs of healthy and progressive reform are now visible in the English Statute-book. Temperance endeavours have yielded the most fruitful results in all English-speaking Western countries. Local option is the law throughout Canada. There are only four of the United States out of the forty-six which have not either Prohibition or Local Option. Sunday closing is practically the law throughout America.

Our first duty, therefore, in India is to create a healthy public opinion in favour of Temperance. Government are as much conscious as ourselves of the fact that India is being debauched and demoralised by the liquor traffic; we have only to bring our

influence to bear upon them to make them act up to their conviction. Government have repeatedly given us their assurance that their object is to minimise temptation and to discourage drinking habits; we must try to keep Government to that line of policy. To my mind, ladies and gentlemen, nothing short of absolute prohibition will save India from the drink peril; and if prohibition has been successfully adopted in parts of America, I do not see why it cannot be introduced in India which has hitherto been distinguished as the most abstemious and sober country in the world. The Indian constitution is unsuited to intemperate living, because a large portion of the population are vegetarians. It has been proved by the medical science even in England that a diet without meat immensely diminishes the craving for intoxicants. The strongest and fleetest of animals, such as elephants, horses, &c., are graminivorous.

We have to bear in mind the fact that we have in India some forty millions of people who do not get sufficient food to keep body and soul together. If drink be allied to poverty, nothing on earth will save India from destruction. I say, therefore, that total abstinence, and not mere temperance, is the panacea for India's evil. Let us have that object in view. We cannot, of course, gain all we want in a day. For the present, we should demand of Government the concessions they have promised us from time to time. Let Government fully carry out the principle of local option—let them make it plain to Revenue officials that their duty should be to restrict and not facilitate the consumption of liquor—let them put a stop to the sale of intoxicants to persons under 18 years of age—let them begin with these reforms, and they will be blessed by Providence. I am a believer, ladies and gentlemen, in the

British sense of justice and righteousness. I know there are hundreds of British officials in India who detest the liquor traffic, but as officials they are bound to see that the revenue does not suffer. I am confident that, with the growing influence of public opinion, Government will feel compelled to reform the excise administration, and will thereby reform themselves. The outlook is hopeful. The Conservative Government was purely for electioneering purposes a friend of the publican; but the Liberal Government is not. The present Parliament has been described as a Temperance Parliament. There are no less than 38 Welsh Members who have consecrated themselves to the Temperance cause, besides many others who are supporters and sympathisers of the Temperance movement.

But, ladies and gentlemen, as the saying is, legislation cannot make a people moral against their wish. Parliament and Government can at best help the people; the reform must come from within. Mere repression is not an ideal policy either in political or in social government. A purely repressive policy, in connection with the excise administration, has this danger, that it may lead from one intoxicant to another. Therefore, there must be systematic instruction of the masses, so as to kill the propensity for intemperance. Along with this, there should be a provision of counter-attractions, such as innocent pastimes, amusements, etc., and, above all, an awakening of the religious sentiment of the people. The masses should be made to realise, by means of lectures, object-lessons, &c., the serious evils resulting from indulgence in intoxicants. Efforts should be made specially to give such instruction in our schools as will impress upon young, impressionable minds the beneficent results of temperate and good living. The Western world has made considerable progress in this respect. In

Canada, with the exception of two Provinces, hygiene and scientific instruction on the effects of alcohol are compulsory subjects in all schools. In Victoria and South Australia, the teaching of temperance is regularly carried out. In America, the teaching of physiological hygiene, with special reference to the effects of alcohol and other narcotics, has been brought up to a very high standard. About twenty-two million children are receiving temperance instruction in America. Let the youth of the country be made to understand that their future is bound up with this question. Let the ignorant masses be made to realise that intemperance means disease, destitution, demoralisation and death. Let our educated men read the statistics of the world to realise the utter abomination of drink. They will find that intemperance has caused 63 per cent. of the crime, 75 per cent. of the poverty, seven-tenths of the disease and sixty thousand of the annual premature deaths in one of the foremost Christian and civilised countries in the world—England. Therefore, Gladstone said of drink that “it is a greater curse than war, famine and pestilence combined”.

Above all, as I have said, let the religious sentiment of the people be awakened against the curse of intemperance. Intemperance has been condemned by all religions in the world. “*Madyam adeyam, apeyam agraihyam.*”, that is, “wine should neither be offered nor drunk nor accepted”, is the injunction of the Hindu Shastras. “At the last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder”, said Solomon. The Christian religion forbids intemperance, and so does Islam. Let the Missionaries of the different faiths combine all their efforts and resources to drive this great enemy of the human race—this “insidious poison,” as Sir Frederic Treves has called it—out of existence.

Ladies and gentlemen, I desire to advert to one point more,

and this is the necessity of educating the Indian home on this question of temperance, as well as on other social problems. The greatest victory of the Temperance cause has come from the noble women of England and America, who have dedicated themselves to this sacred mission, and some of whom we have the honour of meeting in this Conference to-day. Woman's influence has achieved almost unbelievable results in the field of social reform in the Western world. How fervently we wish that our Indian women could follow the example of their Western sisters. That day will certainly come, although I may not be spared to witness the happy consummation. Meantime, let the educating process go on both within and without the Indian home. She who rocks the cradle rules the world. Let the Indian mother be taught to take her part in the making of the Indian nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have very little more to say, and I must thank you for the patience with which you have listened to me. I have great hopes of the future of the Temperance movement in India. The success which has attended the labours of the past seems to me to be a guarantee of the progress of the future. I ask you, one and all, in the name of India, to keep up the agitation in this sacred cause, so that, with the help of England, you may make India once more the land of simplicity, purity and sobriety. History teaches us that the sanctity of national life is the condition precedent to national greatness. Let redemption from the power of alcohol be the rallying cry of educated India of the twentieth century. May the Almighty, in His infinite loving kindness, open the eyes of all concerned to the dire harm which is being done by the Drink Demon in India—and may He so influence the hearts of our rulers that they may stay the hand of this arch-enemy of the Indian population. Believing as I do in the mercy of Providence, I say—Brethren, Onward! Onward! Onward! Those of us who pass away before the consummation is attained, will see the victory from the battlements of heaven. I ask you, each of you, and all of you, to say :—

“Conquer we must, for our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, ‘In God will we trust’.”

THE ALL-INDIA SWADESHI CONFERENCE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

LALA LAJPAT RAI.



Mr. President, Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,—
I do not know how to thank you and my countrymen at large for the great kindness which you and they have shown to me. It is impossible to give an adequate expression to the feelings of gratitude and thankfulness that the wonderful reception accorded to me here, there, and everywhere have evoked in me. Ever since my return from my short and enforced exile I have been the fortunate recipient of so many manifestations of love and regard from my countrymen of all classes, that words seem to be too poor a vehicle to convey my feelings of gratefulness to them. Even if I had a hundred lives to sacrifice in the service of my country they could furnish but poor opportunities of doing adequate justice to the honour and esteem, of which I have been the recipient for the last five weeks. They have touched the deepest chords of my heart and have brightened my vision of the future of my countrymen. The extraordinary outburst of feeling for individuals which has found expression during the last two years throughout the length and breadth of our country is undoubtedly a striking and new spectacle. It cannot be satisfactorily explained by the public services of these men, as though some of them have rendered eminent services to the country, it cannot be said of all, and least of all of a humble

individual like myself. In my eyes this outburst of feeling has deeper reason than the services of individuals. It is one indication of the growing consciousness of national unity. India was hitherto said to be only a geographical expression. It has now begun to aspire under the guidance of an all-wise Providence to a unified political existence and to a place in the comity of nations. The congress of nations that are said to inhabit this vast territory have after a long period of disunion and disorganisation begun to realise that after all they are one people, with one common blood running through their veins, with common traditions, a common history, and a common faith in the future. It is true that communities are divided from communities, sects from sects, and provinces from provinces by differences of religion, language and customs. The wave of western civilisation, however, with its unifying influences is levelling down these differences and creating a community of interests and feeling which is the precursor of a new dawn in our life. Some time ago people began to look back and find that, with all their differences, they were after all the branches of a common tree, descendants of the same stock, inheritors of the same civilisation, and, with local differences, practically speakers of the same language. Even Mahomedans, taken as a whole, could not say that, in their traditions, languages, and customs, they had nothing in common with the Hindus. This looking backwards made them compare their present position with the position of other people in other parts of the world and led them to look forward. This has awakened the national consciousness which, for want of greater occasions, has begun to exhibit itself in demonstrations and ovations in honour of individuals who have, even by slight sacrifices, earned the distinction of being the servants of the country. Interpreting these

ovations in this sense, I feel I have every reason to rejoice over them. I join with you in congratulating myself as being the fortunate recipient of these marks of honour and respect, for which I thank you most sincerely and through you the other classes of my countrymen. It has, however, been dinned into my ears, ever since I reached Lahore, once more a comparatively free man, that a large number of my countrymen hate me, that my deportation was due principally to Mahomedan machinations, that a number of Hindu gentlemen also had combined, consciously or unconsciously, to bring about, what they considered to be, my ruin and that of the cause I had at heart, that a large number of my friends and co-workers deserted me in the hour of my troubles and purchased their safety, either by ignoring me, or by disowning me and my principles. I am told that, under the circumstances, the political amelioration of the country is a hopeless task for which I need waste no more of my time and energies. I am further told that, in the light of the experience of the last six months, it is futile to base any hope of political salvation on the union of Hindus and Mahomedans, that such union is impossible, that our people are an inert mass having no life to assert and too ignorant to understand their rights, and that the leading men are mostly corrupt, selfish, ease-loving, and cowardly, that while talking loudly of political emancipation and liberty, they are wanting in the courage of their convictions and are not prepared to suffer for their ideals, that the political ideas that obtained in the educated party and their conception of political rights were entirely foreign, borrowed bodily from the west without any reference to their suitability to the genius and traditions of the nation, and that, under the circumstances, the best interests of our people lie in directions other than political, and that we should be con-

tented with the sort of government we have got, and should studiously avoid doing anything that may be offensive to the authorities. The incidents of the last three days have unfortunately lent colour to these pleadings and I am told that now, at any rate, I should have no doubt as to the incapacity of my countrymen for the political institutions of the west. This, however, is the language of despair to which I am not prepared to listen. Firstly, as to the misfortunes of the last six months, I cannot admit that they were entirely due to Mahomedan machinations. I am certain that the so-called Mahomedan machinations were supported and backed by a number of Hindu informers and sycophants, and it is not right to condemn a whole community for the sins of a few. It cannot be doubted for a moment that the country, as a whole, stood fairly well by the victims of official oppression. To me it is a marvel that such was the case, and that the number of traitors and black sheep was not larger than it was found to be. I have had numerous evidences of the sympathy of Mahomedans, other than the limited class of title-hunters and place-hunters and I still believe that, with the spread of education among Mahomedans, the combination of Hindus and Mahomedans for political purposes is not an impossibility. But how can I ever forget the numerous marks of grief and sympathy which I read on the faces of Mahomedan dhobies and other low caste people, when the latter happened to pass by meduring my walks in the Fort at Mandalay? Why, I saw some of them weeping and shedding tears out of sympathy for me. The authorities tried their level best to prevent my countrymen at Mandalay from showing any marks of respect towards me, but I can never forget that there were numbers who did not up to the last day yield to this pressure and continued to salaam me. The sympathy that I read on the

faces of my countrymen while passing by me at Mandalay has left a deep impression on my mind and that impression has been still deepened by what I have seen and felt since my return to my own native land. I do not believe, Gentlemen, that the idea of Hindu and Mahomedan unity is only a phantom, but even if it were so, are we representatives of 20 crores of Hindus in India to take things quietly as they are and allow our people to sink deeper and deeper into misery which can only lead them and us to complete national death, which is inevitable if the existing political and economic conditions are to continue for any length of time? I, on my part, Gentlemen, decline to give way to pessimism. Mine is a religion of hope and faith. I believe in struggle—a righteous, stern, and unyielding struggle. I am quite prepared for defeats and repulses. The colossal difficulties in the way of success, the discouraging circumstances relied on by the advocates of inactivity do not overwhelm me. In fact, I am inclined to take them as a greater reason for a more determined struggle. According to my political creed every repulse ought to furnish a fresh starting point for a renewed, more righteous, and more vigorous activity. The political principles which I believe in very strongly, are that nations are by themselves made and it is righteousness that exalts a nation. Under the circumstances, my countrymen, my humble advice to you is to be neither nervous nor hysterical, to maintain a dignified, firm, manly, but righteous, attitude amidst difficulties and storms; and to continue the struggle in the light of the experience gained, “with a heart for any fate, still achieving, still pursuing, learn to labour and to wait.” Now a word as to our mutual relations. True to their instinct and traditions, our enemies are trying to bring about a schism among the patriotic party. Unfortunately

their efforts have already met with success and a deplorable schism has already taken place which is extremely painful and humiliating to every patriotic Indian. For some time to come the efforts of every true son of India will have to be directed to bring about a reconciliation amongst brothers that have for the present parted. The latest move is to play Moderates off against Extremists and *vice versa*. To tell you the truth, I do not know whether these words truly represent the principles of the parties that are called after these names. I for one do not like these names, but if these words are to stick to us, I would beg of my Moderate friends not to play into the hands of the enemies, as to do so will be, in the words of the Hon'ble Gokhale, to make confusion worse confounded. It may be that some of the so-called Extremist methods are not to their liking, but for that reason to give them over to the enemy and to force them into the position of perpetual opponents by slighting them or holding them up to the persecution of the Government and the ridicule of the Anglo-Indian will not be wisdom. It would eventually involve us in difficulties and controversies, which might exhaust all the time and energy available for rational work. To my Extremist friends I would respectfully appeal not to be impatient of the slowness of age and the voice of practical experience. It will be an evil day for the Hindus, the Mahomedans, and the Parsis, to allow all their national characteristics to be entirely swept away by Western manners and methods. Let us never forget that we are not an upstart people, having no traditions and no past to boast of. Respect for age, regard for seniority, reverence for ties of blood and relationship, constitute the most valuable heritage bequeathed to us by our forefathers and we shall be going backward, rather than forward, in exchanging them for the noisy and, at times,

undesirable and pushful manners of the West. In any case, it is absolutely necessary to observe and maintain discipline in public life. Without it we may be only confounding chaos with progress. I would, therefore, beg of you to do nothing which would hamper the growth of the responsible public life in the country. My Moderate and Extremist friends will not, I hope, misunderstand me. I do not say that they have done anything to deserve my remarks. Mine is only a danger signal. One word more and I have done. The country is now in the grip of a dire famine. The nation that we aspire to serve mostly lives in huts and cottages and is in great distress. The Government is doing its duty, or, at any rate, professes to do it, in providing relief to the unfortunate victims of famine. Shall we, the blood of their blood, lag behind and do nothing to relieve the distress of the aged and the poor? The highest dictates of patriotism require that our sympathies should go forth to the help of the destitute and the wretched and that by sharing what has been given to us with our countrymen in distress we should conclusively establish our claims to speak for them and to demand their co-operation with us in the ensuing struggle. Our claims to their regard and love should be based upon substantial services and not merely on lip-sympathy expressed in paper resolutions. I therefore appeal to my friends and co-workers to put their shoulders to the wheel, to organise a non-official famine relief campaign in the famine-affected provinces to collect funds and to carry sympathy and help to all homes and places in need of the same. The young, the aged, and the woman specially call to us for help, and it will be a shame if we decline to respond to this call and spend the whole stock of our energies in academic controversies and wordy warfare. I know that the work is tremendous and the difficulties still more so, but it affords the

most useful and most effective training for a disinterested patriotic life. Even partial success in this direction will be a very valuable moral asset and an object-lesson to those who have to continue the work after us.

After the conclusion of his address he referred to Swadeshi and said that he had been Swadeshi all his life. They were indebted to the Bengalis for having installed Swadeshi on its proper pedestal and created an atmosphere in their Province which had permeated all classes, and unless they tried to extend the scope of Swadeshi, irrespective to caste and creeds, they could not hope for greater success. The spirit of Swadeshi ought to prevail in all departments of life subject to one condition, that whatever they had to learn from the West in order to maintain progress and secure prosperity on equal terms, they need not be ashamed to learn from the West. There was no use in going back. They could only go back consistently with the national interests. Otherwise it would be suicidal. They could not but be affected by a predominant civilisation. They must learn to fight out the battle of nationality in modern times under modern conditions and try to use those weapons which were used against them.

THE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

DEWAN BAHADUR AMBALAL S. DESAI,

Late Chief Justice, Baroda State.

Gentlemen,—I thank you sincerely for asking me to preside at this important Conference. I cannot claim the practical experience of trade and industries possessed by my worthy predecessor, nor the literary eminence and broad economic outlook of Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, the first President. My connection with industries is indirect, and my studies in Indian Economics are somewhat recent. I beg, therefore, that you will be good enough to take an indulgent view of any shortcomings in the observations that I offer for your consideration.

The fundamental facts of our economic situation are well-known. (1) Widespread and chronic poverty among a large proportion of the population, (2) dense ignorance of the masses; (3) an abundance of raw materials; (4) absence of scientific and technical knowledge, and practical skill; (5) a low state of commercial enterprise; (6) a large deficiency of capital. The question that we are called upon to consider is how to evolve a state of widespread industrialism out of the conditions just postulated.

Some of the remedies suggested are those that have proved efficacious elsewhere; viz., a wide provision of elementary edu-

cation ; foundation of technical schools and scientific institutes; establishment of commercial schools, and acquisition of scientific and technical knowledge by students sent abroad. All these are comprised under one comprehensive head,—Education. The efforts made till now to supply it have been spasmodic and feeble. But strong, systematic, and sustained exertions are indispensable. They ought to be continually reinforced by a strong national spirit, that is determined to achieve success at all costs, and is immovably steadfast in the pursuit of its high national aim of securing our industrial regeneration.

In the meanwhile, we must depend for our immediate progress on our resources as they now exist. Our merchants are indeed mostly ignorant of the intricate ramifications of modern industrial conditions, their vast extent, and the foundation on which they ultimately rest. Happily there arise now and then above our economic horizon a few persons of the towering eminence of the late Mr. Jamsedji Tata ; and commercial enterprise on a considerable scale has existed in Western and North-Western India from time immemorial. Our traders have penetrated into East Africa, Persia, Turkey, and eastwards into China and Japan. Merchants of Gujerat have recently gone to England and opened agencies there for the purchase of British machinery and mill-stores. Hindu pearl merchants have lately established firms in Paris and London. The Indian Specie Bank of Bombay has quite recently opened a Branch under Indian management in the heart of the British Empire. It is to such agencies that we must look for the immediate help that we require in the shape of commercial enterprise.

CAPITAL.

Next to the want of commercial enterprise and industrial knowledge, the thing that stands in the way of our industrial

growth is the absence of the requisite capital. Nay it may be asserted that the want of capital is now our chief desideratum. It is true that the capital now employed in our cotton industry amounts to nearly 30 *crores* of rupees. But if we remember our final aim, viz., to clothe ourselves wholly with home-made fabrics, we must confess that we have only made a fair beginning for a general regeneration of our industry. The great problem awaiting a practical solution is that of raising the necessary funds.

The question admits of a satisfactory solution, provided our best minds apply themselves to the task. The Rupee debt of the Government of India held in India amounts to Rs. 105 *crores*; and of this Rs. 55 *crores* are held by Indians. It may not be possible to divert all this into the channels of trade and industry, but even if we could secure for the latter purpose $\frac{1}{4}$ th of it, say Rs. 14 *crores*, the impetus imparted to our industries would be very great. It is to be wished that Indian publicists will earnestly endeavour to create a public opinion in favour of the diversion. That it is quite within their power, I have no doubt. The higher returns of trade and industries ought to prove a strong argument in favour of the change.

There is another and a cognate source which may well be tapped by our enterprising men. The amount deposited in the Postal Savings Banks was for the year 1904-05, Rs. 14 *crores*. Nearly 13 *crores* out of this sum were purely private Indian savings. Now if we could succeed in getting even a half of this sum, say Rs. 6 *crores*, for our commercial purposes, an amount of strength would be imparted to our industrial activity, of which we have at present no adequate conception.

The best way of fulfilling the latter purpose, as well as that of getting at the money now locked up in Government Promissory Notes, would seem to be the establishment of Banking insti-

tutions all over the land. Efforts on a small scale have already been made, notably in Poona, Ahmedabad, Benares, Lucknow, Lahore and other places. But these are tiny beginnings of very large potentialities. There is no reason why every town of importance should not have a Bank of its own. These small institutions may establish connections with the bigger ones at large commercial centres, and the whole capital of the country will be thus utilized to the best advantages.

It may be here stated in passing that it is not at all a difficult thing for men of character to inaugurate such establishments. In fact, the great thing to be remembered is that there is no department of business for which Indians of the middle classes are better fitted by heredity, and past traditions, than that of Banking. Practical Bank management requires just those qualities in which we excel and which we have cultivated for generations, viz., patience, calculation, foresight, thrift and the like. We have further a natural advantage over our foreign rivals in this respect, viz., we possess an intimate acquaintance with local conditions, and with individual solvency.

A satisfactory beginning has already been made as regards large Banking institutions. Bombay has started two large Banks; Madras has launched its National Bank and Calcutta is following in the wake. These institutions have already proved of great value to trade; our Indian genius for banking is so far full of promise. We want now a network of small Banking establishments which will act as feeders to the bigger Banks. One of the principal functions of these small Banks will be to inspire confidence in the poorer population, and to attract the sums that now lie idle or concealed underground owing to distrust and ignorance. Education alone can finally remove the

economic blindness which favours hoarding. But small well-managed Banks can do a great deal in the meanwhile.

It is clear, however, to all who take a comprehensive view of the present industrial situation, that Indian productive industry requires more capital than all the ways just mentioned can be expected to secure. The question arises, whether we should resort to foreign countries for loanable capital, or prefer to wait till our resources grow equal to our wants. There is a strong feeling among a section of our people that foreign capital should be shunned. Similar was the feeling of some Japanese patriots formerly. The sentiment is natural. But our interests require that we should look at the matter from a purely business point of view. From this standpoint, the only reasonable rule of conduct to follow is that we should freely borrow money of foreigners for industrial purposes. The Government of India has been long doing this for railway construction. Very powerful nations go to the markets of London and Paris for war loans, or for naval construction, and also for industrial development. There is no reason why we should not do the same.

The Honourable Mr. Vithaldas, my worthy predecessor in this chair, urged the same view. "We cannot," he said, "do without foreign capital. It will be extremely short-sighted to reject it on sentimental grounds. We must avail ourselves of it, but we must take care that we do not pay for it more than other nations." This is sound advice. In this respect we might follow the example of our fellow-subjects of Canada. Patriotic Canadians welcome the advent of American brains and money in the development of Canada; but they naturally prefer that the work now being done by the capitalists of the United States should be shared in a vastly greater degree than now by those of their own countrymen who have money to invest.

THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

The new propaganda termed the *Swadeshi* movement requires some remarks. The aim of this movement is the establishment of new industries in India, by means of Indian capital, if possible, so that the Indian people may be, as far as is practicable, self-contained and independent of the foreign imports that now flood the land.

The justification of the movement consists in the fact that the country has been impoverished during the last century by the inroads of outside manufactures on its old industries, so that it is now unable to supply its population even with the necessities of life. The foreign goods now imported are not, economically speaking, indispensable. The materials of many of them are produced in the country, and an ample supply of labour is ready to hand. The *Swadeshi* movement ultimately seeks to call into existence the directing capacity, the technical skill, and the requisite capital, so that our own labour and money may convert our raw materials into the commodities which we now import.

There is a general consensus of opinion that the endeavour to establish new industries in India is very laudable in itself. The Government of India favours it. Every new factory established, every banking institution created, every steamship launched, is hailed by men of all shades of opinion. Scholarships for obtaining technical instruction outside the country are given, to a small extent, by the Government of India, to a larger extent by public bodies and public spirited citizens, while many enterprising and high-spirited youths go abroad at their own expense to acquire high technical proficiency. So far there is no radical difference of opinion.

Honest and patriotic men all over the country are trying their best to induce our countrymen to abjure the use of foreign

goods altogether, in favour of indigenous ones of the same description. These earnest efforts, which are gradually spreading over all parts of the land, are viewed differently by different persons. So far as the methods are accompanied by unlawful acts of violence and intimidation, they deserve to be severely condemned. But unlawfulness apart, there is nothing in them that any honest man can seriously object to. The economic ideas of men differ in many points and a difference on this one is allowable. But no candid man ought to stigmatize these patriotic efforts as dishonest. They are perfectly legitimate.

But the statement may be ventured that even, from an economic point of view, they are not only justifiable but urgently needed. The protection of new or nascent industries by means of high import duties, and by bounties is held to be allowable by some of the highest authorities of the free trade school of Political Economy. If the State in India had been identified in economic interests with the Indian people, some measure of protection might have been adopted by it long ago. But the Government of India being the representative in India of free trade, Britain is not at liberty at present to afford economic protection in any form to Indian industries. The people of India ought, therefore, to step into the vacuum, and do by *voluntary protection* what the State might have achieved in an easier way by tariffs and bounties. Thus the *Swadeshi* propaganda is, in essence, an endeavour to reinforce the cause of Indian industries by enlisting the Indian patriotic sentiment on its behalf. It is difficult to see how any objection can exist against such a move. Organized voluntary efforts are specially needed now in all departments of national activity. The *Swadeshi* movement is the application of this principle to that of national industrial regeneration.

In finally determining the utility of the movement our view need not be restricted to the free trade formulae of English economists. Almost all the independent nations of Europe and America are at the present day encouraging their own industries by means of high tariff barriers and bounties. Germany and America are the two most prominent instances before us. Why should not Indians do by voluntary effort what these two nations are doing by the collective action of their States?

That this line of conduct is correct is proved by actual experience. The Finance Minister in his Budget statement last March recognized that the *Swadeshi* movement had resulted in the contraction of imports of cotton goods to the tune of more than a *crore* of rupees, indigenous manufactures having replaced them. An impetus is given to the handloom industry in Bengal and elsewhere, such as it had not felt for nearly a century, and large numbers of our countrymen have obtained a living thereby. There is an all-round industrial revival due to the *Swadeshi* propaganda. Fifteen Banks with a total capital of nearly 4 *crores* have sprung into existence. Five navigation companies with a capital of 121 *lakhs* have been started. 22 new cotton mills with a capital of nearly 2 *crores* have been established. Two jute mills, several oil-pressing mills, sugar factories, and mining and mineral companies, besides many that are not known, have been launched. (These figures are taken from R. B. Lal Baijnath's speech at the U. P. Conference.) In the department of cotton spinning and weaving, the number of spindles has risen from 50 to 60 *lakhs* and of looms from 45 to 60 thousand. These gratifying results are largely attributable to the *Swadeshi* propaganda, and to the *Swadeshi* spirit which it has aroused. In the face of these results, it is not reasonable to cavil at the *Swadeshi* movement.

There are well meaning people who urge that the propaganda imposes an extra burden on the poor, or that it deteriorates taste and workmanship. Now, it is not always true that any extra burden is suffered by our poorer countrymen on account of the *Swadeshi* movement. In several cases, the propaganda has been only the means of advertising widely Indian goods of admirable quality and cheapness which were languishing for want of support. In some cases the preference for our own goods has indeed implied a small and often imperceptible sacrifice. But all protection implies such a sacrifice. When a State imposes a high tariff against foreign imports to bolster up a nascent industry, the sacrifice is equally real. Why should it be grudged because it is voluntarily borne? As to taste and quality, it is not always the case that the Indian article is inferior to the foreign. Often the reverse is the fact. The element of durability again is generally in favour of our products, and often goes far to counter-balance the loss in point of superficial finish. Lastly, there is no ground for the fear that patronizing crude articles will cause a permanent deterioration of our workmanship. Such patronage can, at the best, be very temporary, and competition among our own producers is bound, in the long run, to keep up the quality. The poor ultimately gain by the extended employment that arises for their labour.

Of the four elements of national manufacturing prosperity, viz., raw materials, technical skill, capital, and demand, the demand is the dominating factor which gives direction, shape and substance to productive activity. Now, our resources in raw materials are abundant. Technical skill can be created gradually, and for our immediate purposes we can rely upon importing it from outside. I have already dwelt upon the question of augmenting our capital. As to demand, it is very extensive in

India. Thus all that is necessary to do at present is to make the demand flow in such a way that it may fertilize native industries instead of foreign ones. All the foremost nations of the world are endeavouring at present to get wider and wider markets for their goods. Their political action is largely governed by this policy. In their mutual jealousy and competition they insist on an open door for all—notably in the vast Asiatic countries. The ordinary weapon used by these nations, is that of making their goods cheap to the consumer, of lessening the cost of transport by subsidizing shipping lines, of practising economies in production and utilising scientific inventions. They rely in the last resort on an appeal to the *avarice* of the foreign consumer.

Now, it is permissible to inquire why a nation situated like ours, and deprived of all means of enforcing its will by collective action, may not seek to extend its industries by appealing to a higher sentiment than avarice, viz., patriotism. Even royal personages have commended such an appeal and enforced it by their example.

RAILWAY TRANSPORT.

The question of a cheap and quick transport of our manufactured goods and machinery from one part of the country to another has not received the attention it deserves. It is, however, of vital importance to the growth of our industries. The utter collapse of the carrying capacity of the principal railway lines last season is fresh in our minds. It caused enormous losses to traders and producers and a serious dislocation of all commercial arrangements. A sufficient supply of rolling stock on each line is a *sine qua non* of railway efficiency, and ought to be insisted on. Smooth working arrangements for interchange of waggons between

the various lines are also badly needed. The railway staff ought to be imbued with the spirit of business. The Railway Board has succeeded indeed in effecting a few minor improvements, but is still far from coming up to the expectations of business-men. The delay in the despatch and handling of goods after arrival are often scandalous. For example, it generally takes 8 days before goods loaded in Bombay reach the hands of the consignees at Ahmedabad, which is only 300 miles from Bombay. The loading and unloading arrangements at bye-stations are defective, and add to the delay. Mr. Moiley made a boast that the railway rates in India are very cheap. They may be cheap. But there is great room for improvement still. Now it costs nearly 15 Rs. (all charges included) per bale of yarn or cloth sent from Ahmedabad to Cawnpore or Calcutta; while it can be sent to the latter place by rail and sea combined for nearly half the sum. The railways yield a large surplus revenue after deducting interest and wear and tear of the fixed capital. Why should not this surplus be utilized to reduce the freight charges on all internal manufactures? A reduction in freights acts on trade like fresh capital or a new market. It is as new blood to a living organism. It is by cheap and quick transport that America has achieved her industrial pre-eminence. Indian manufactures need very cheap freights and rapid transport. I would commend this point to the earnest consideration of the Conference.

UNIFORM WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

Somewhat akin to the question of cheap railway freights and quick transport is that of having for the whole country a common currency, and common weights and measures. The existence of important Native States, some with a standard coin of their own, accounts for the difficulties that confront us in the

way of getting a common medium of exchange. Political considerations are here interwoven with the economic problem. Maharaja Sayaji Rao of Baroda has generously adopted the British coin; and it is to be hoped that equally broad views will influence the counsels of Gwalior, Hyderabad and the Rajputana States in this important matter. It is the poor people of the Native States and travellers that suffer most from the existence of a separate local currency. There is less reason, however, for maintaining the present confusing labyrinth of weights and measures. Big traders can always protect their interests; and it is the poor and the ignorant that suffer most. The necessity of developing the domestic commerce of our vast country makes the question of a common currency and common weights and measures one of national importance.

AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRY.

I will now, with your permission, proceed to offer a few remarks on some of our leading industries, and among these, Agriculture first demands our attention. It stands at present at the head of all our other industries. An extension of purely industrial occupations will no doubt reduce its relative magnitude. But it will be a long time before its place becomes secondary, as in England. It behoves us, therefore, to pay special attention to it. The greatest impediments to its growth are--(1) the ignorance of the peasant; (2) his heavy indebtedness; (3) the irregularity of the rainy seasons; (4) the absence of irrigational facilities; and (5) the land policy of the Government. The charge of blind conservatism brought against our cultivator is not fully justified. He has always shown a readiness to produce crops that pay him best, and due regard being had to his indebtedness he cannot be expected to do more. The Government of India have of late taken some steps to improve the returns of agricul-

ture. But, as usual, they have begun at the top instead of at the bottom. Something more is needed than having big central institutions or associations. Big central associations have failed in Bengal and cannot expect a better fate elsewhere. The theory that knowledge will filter down to the peasant in his village from the central institution or bureau is not supported by actual experience. There are thick impervious strata intervening, which prevent the desired percolation. The villager ought to be approached in his home and placed in possession of the knowledge which he lacks. For this village committees should be formed, and model farms ought to be established for every small group of villages. Trained Indian experts ought to be brought into direct contact with the peasant. Lastly, the interposition of the Revenue agency ought to be sedulously shunned. As regards the peasant's indebtedness, a further expansion of the Co-operative Credit Associations ought to be encouraged. In the matter of irrigation, large works are good in their way, but the old system of having a good storage tank for every village deserves to be revived. Free education, and that of the right sort, must be placed within the reach of the agricultural population. Finally, the present land policy of periodical settlements must be abolished, and a permanent land tax ought to be fixed.

THE COTTON INDUSTRY.

The cotton industry is next in importance, but stands on a different footing altogether. We get almost all the raw material for it in our own country, and spare some of it for foreigners. Egyptian and American cotton is now annually imported in small quantities, and these imports will increase during the present year. The cultivation of the new Sind cotton promises, thanks to the liberal initiative and help of the Bombay Government, to give great impetus to our staple industry. Our Mill-

owners' Association may fairly be expected to show a practical appreciation of the efforts of Government by offering prizes to growers of long-stapled cotton in other parts of the country. Meanwhile, it is agreeable to note that the cotton industry is now on a firm basis, though we are yet far behind our legitimate place in the production of cotton fabrics. The system of paying the managing agents huge commissions calculated on the outturn alone is happily getting into public disfavour, and a more sensible one is gradually taking its place. The labour supply is unsatisfactory from a variety of causes, plague being the main one. The public can now justly demand that the excise duties on cloth which have trebled during the last 10 years and now amount to nearly 30 *lakhs* of rupees per annum should be abolished. The increasing revenue from excise on cotton cloths involves a new danger to the industry to which the attention of all publicists might be invited. At present the interests of Lancashire form the sole pretext for the impost. But if the revenue from it grows at the present rate, considerations of finance are likely to be utilized for its continuance. It will be said that the amount is too large to be at once remitted. This is an additional reason for taking concerted action now to get this obnoxious tax removed. At the same time we have a right to expect that the industry shall not be allowed to be threatened with new artificial restrictions on any grounds whatever. Whilst on the subject we must thankfully acknowledge that the composition of the Factory Commission now sitting is quite satisfactory. We may be permitted to hope that the interests of India alone will dominate its final recommendations.

IRON, COAL AND MANGANESE.

It is a pleasing feature of the new industrial spirit that Indian merchants are turning their attention to the mining of

coal and manganese. It is gratifying that recently a few coal and manganese concerns have been launched by Indians with Indian capital. Ignorance had hitherto hindered our progress. To ensure future progress it would be well if steps were taken to train Indian experts in Geology, Mining and Metallurgy. The suggestion put forward last year by the Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas, viz., that all companies formed outside India for mining should be compelled by Government to reserve a portion of their stock for Indian investors, is worthy of consideration. The difficulty lies in the fact that rich foreign capitalists are satisfied with a smaller return than Indian investors, and that the latter generally fight shy of uncertain investments. The Tata Iron Works mark an epoch-making advance in mining and metal-lurgy, and are pregnant with very far-reaching results.

THE SUGAR INDUSTRY.

The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh supply half the home-grown sugar. But it is now becoming clear that our sugar production is losing ground in competition with that of Java, Mauritius, and Germany. The *Swadeshi* agitation is trying to enlist the religious scruples of the people in favour of native sugar, but the practical question of extending the indigenous industry remains unsolved. Perhaps Mr. Hadi's new way of making sugar may aid in the solution. More irrigation works may hasten the desired result. The difficulty of getting sugarcane all the year round is at the root of the question. It is not easy to suggest a remedy. The refinement of molasses, however, pays fairly well, if the manufacture of rum as a bye-product is permitted by the State. Our patriotic countrymen are, however, in earnest, and Madras is going to have a sugar factory soon.

JUTE AND SILK.

The jute and silk industries are at present confined to Bengal, but the jute mills are financed and managed by Europeans. We, on this side of India, are unable fully to understand the latter phenomenon. There is no reason why awakened Bengal should not claim a share in this thriving industry. In the article of silk, Bengal has a practical monopoly, though Kashmir is preparing itself to enter the lists. Praiseworthy efforts are made in Mysore to produce silk on a commercial basis. Maharaja Sayaji Rao, the enlightened ruler of Baroda, has taken the question in hand for the benefit of Gujarat. A Deccan Brahmin who has returned from Japan after studying sericulture in all its branches has, it is stated, started a small and successful factory of his own in the Konkan. It is to be hoped that his bold example will find enterprising imitators elsewhere.

LEATHER AND PAPER AND OTHER INDUSTRIES.

The leather industry is gradually spreading, though no impression seems to have been made on the imports as yet. The efforts of Mr. Chatterton, of Madras, in this direction are deserving of great praise. But the field for leather manufactures is still very extensive, for we export skins and hides of the value of Rs. 14 *crores*. A factory at Navsari and another at Bombay, both lately started, are doing good business. There is no reason why every province should not have a leather factory of its own. The new Alembic Chemical Works at Bombay mark a valuable departure, which is pregnant with important results in the immediate future. The glass works at Umballa, Dehra Dun and Bankipur are among the offspring of the new *Svadeshi* spirit in British India. Cheap railway freights are especially necessary in the case of

glassware. Enamelled ware and pottery have been taken in hand by patriotic Bengali gentlemen, and the Victoria Technical Institute at Bombay trains young men in enamelling. Surgical tools of excellent finish are now produced locally in Bombay and sold at a reasonable price. A tobacco factory near the same place must be reckoned among the progressive works of the year. There is, of course, abundant room for these industries all over the country.

HOME INDUSTRIES.

The question of creating home-industries for our rural areas is one deserving of serious consideration. For more than 6 months in the year almost the whole agricultural population of unirrigated tracts is absolutely without any employment. It might greatly improve their material condition if some handicrafts suitable to their needs could be successfully introduced into our rural areas. The handloom may answer the purpose in many cases. Knitting and lace-making also suggest themselves. The matter is very important, and suggestions or papers dealing with it ought to be invited.

EDUCATION.

No review of national industries can be complete without a reference to the subject of Education. I have touched upon the deficiency of the labour supply for factories. Agriculture makes the same complaint. Plague is no doubt one of its principal causes, but there are others of a deeper kind. The labourer in the principal industrial centres gets higher wages than he can dispose of according to his present ideas. He is very ignorant and his wants are few. He squanders a considerable proportion of his earnings on liquor and also on flimsy foreign finery. If he still has money left he deliberately absents himself from work till his pocket is

again empty. In the meanwhile, his dwelling continues to be insanitary, his load of debt remains undiminished, and his food also remains the same as before. It is absolutely necessary, if his condition is to be really elevated, that he should receive a sound elementary education. It is the duty of the State as well as of the rich to provide this as extensively as possible. From an industrial point of view, it is as much needed as from any other. The quality of this ought to be such as will make him physically robust, and mentally and morally equal to his foreign competitor.

The need of technical education on a broad scale is now equally acknowledged. The Government might be reasonably expected to take the lead, but the question is a national one and the whole nation ought to combine to provide it. It is our own problem, and we should apply our shoulders to the wheel to bring about the desired result. The difficulty of getting the funds is not so great as is imagined. How to begin is practically a more difficult matter than the raising of funds. Each province, in fact each district, ought to decide the lines of industry for which it will provide industrial and technical training for itself. Bengal, for instance, might select the industries of silk, jute, tea, and indigo; the United Provinces sugar, glass, and woollen manufactures; Bombay cotton, and woollen, and so forth. The manufacture of leather ought to be taught in all the provincial schools. Similarly mechanical engineering, electrical engineering, and industrial chemistry might form the subject-matter of instruction in all our technical schools. The point to be constantly kept before the eye in all these endeavours is that there ought to be a living connection between the technical school of a district or province and its actual or projected industries. When each province has at least one technical school of its own it will be time

to think of a big and all-embracing polytechnic institute for the whole of India. Further, all industrial progress ultimately depends on scientific knowledge. It is to be hoped that the Tata Research Institute will serve as the head reservoir that will perpetually replenish all the technical institutions of the country with the freshest achievements of science and art.

The requirements of the productive industry will be met by a provision for a course of education as just indicated, but to complete our national equipment industrially, a school or college providing a full commercial course is very much needed. Among the subjects that may be taught in such an institution may be included national and cosmopolitan political economy, private and public international law, commercial law, the commercial policy of the leading nations, one or two foreign languages, commercial and political geography, and statistics of trade and commerce, agriculture, manufactures, and mining; and lastly currency

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

The usefulness of this Conference is now placed beyond question. It effectually focusses the interest of the public in our industries which are a matter of vital importance to the whole nation. The very able papers written by gentlemen possessing special expert knowledge which this Conference has been the means of evoking, form by themselves a mine of valuable information. The Directory of Indian Goods, which may be claimed as the special work of our indefatigable Secretary and his staff, is a production of great practical utility. By making it the medium of advertisement for our producers and *Swadeshi* consumers, its scope will be greatly enlarged. The exhibition of Indian products, which has been abandoned this year for unavoidable reasons, will, it is hoped, always form an adjunct to our

annual gathering. It is a question whether the annual exhibition may not be taken up by the Conference, of course with the help and active co-operation of the Congress Reception Committee. The idea that the Exhibition is a mere show is not borne out by facts. Producers exhibiting their goods have obtained a degree of publicity for them which would have been otherwise hardly attainable. Further, it makes the materials for a comprehensive directory of Indian goods easily accessible. While a considerable proportion of the visitors must be sight-seers, there is always an important but increasing minority who benefit by it even commercially. A few foreign rivals may perhaps derive advantage from it. But industrialism is now an international race, in which the fittest will win. At the same time, we are always ready to adopt suggestions for making it widely beneficial.

It will be well if each separate province is able to have its Industrial Conference as the United Provinces had lately. There is much that is common to all the provinces, besides certain matters that are more or less local. It is for the National Industrial Conference to deal with the general topics, and also to offer suggestions even to local Conferences.

While the lines of work hitherto pursued may be continued with advantage, it will arouse and sustain general interest, if practical aims are associated with our labours. The prizes for an improved handloom are very appropriate. The Conference may similarly encourage the acquisition of specialized practical knowledge in directions suggested by those who are in touch with industries. The encouragement may take the shape of scholarships, of prizes for proficiency in advertised subjects, or for monographs on particular industries that now await practical action. For these and other purposes that may be named, large

funds are needed. Is it patriotic to wish them to come from outside sympathisers? *Can* they come from other people? Has any nation ever been industrially regenerated by external help? There are many here who, I am sure, would proudly spurn the idea of receiving such assistance. Let us never forget that nations are made by themselves. In this as in all our other activities, self-help and self-sacrifice ought to be our watch-words. Let every patriotic Indian who feels the existing poverty of his country honestly contribute his mite, and exert his best to get others to do the same. To quote His Highness Maharaja Sayaji Rao's words: "To help in the industrial movement of the present day is a duty which devolves on all equally." Let us then earnestly act in this spirit, and ample funds will be always at our disposal.

WELCOME ADDRESS

BY

PROF. T. K. GAJJAR,

*Chairman of the Reception Committee of the
Third Industrial Conference, Surat, 1907.*

Brother-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen.—Before I proceed to discharge the duties assigned to me by the Reception Committee of the Third Industrial Conference, I must offer my apology for my inability to do justice to the responsible work entrusted to me. I have often been invited by kind-hearted friends to speak on the topics connected with my favourite lines of work. I have, however, been obliged to decline the invitations, as I have always felt myself diffident about venturing on public platforms. I have no hereditary aptitude for the art of public speaking, being born of an artisan family, and have, therefore, contented myself with doing whatever other work lay within my power. But the citizens of Surat—the place of my birth—nominated me to the proud privilege, for which I am thankful to them, of accoiding to you all—the representatives of Industrial India—a hearty welcome worthy of the city which was the greatest industrial and commercial centre on this side of India under the Moghuls, and I could not decline the nomination. It was here at Surat that our present rulers got a footing as traders after roaming over seas, and it was here that they established the factory which developed, in the course of centuries, into a great Empire. Surat then was in the zenith of her glory.

Skill, intelligence, enterprise and commerce combined to shed lustre over it. But alas ! now its glory has gone and its energy and activity have declined. The world-renowned arts of Surat now lack the spirit of progress and linger behind the advances of Science. At this place then, gentlemen, I give you a most cordial welcome.

It is in the fitness of things that this Conference should meet at a place which furnishes an object-lesson of our present economic situation and which should consequently inspire and stimulate the sacred work we have undertaken. It was a happy idea of the Benares Exhibition Committee to organise, in connection with the Industrial Exhibition, an Industrial Conference. In doing so they took the practical step without which, according to the penetrative observation of the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, exhibitions were useless. The practical genius of the great Ranade also had perceived the necessity of industrial conferences, which were consequently held in Poona in the years 1891-92-93. But this movement did not continue after the elevation of Mr. Ranade to the bench of the Bombay High Court. Its spirit lay dormant. It was reserved for a Gujarati colonist of Upper India, the Hon. Munshi Madho Lal, with the able co-operation of Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, to revive the movement and secure the co-operation and sympathy of all workers—whether official or non-official—in the cause of India's industrial progress. The Conference was launched at a very opportune moment, a moment when India experienced travails caused by the birth of far-reaching movements—a moment when the Swadeshi movement swept over the whole continent, welcomed and supported by all people,—rich or poor, literate or illiterate.

The national spirit embodied in the sessions of the Indian National Congress gave a tangible shape in 1901 to our industrial endeavours by the institution of an Industrial Exhibition at Calcutta under the organising talent of the Hon. Mr. J. Chaudhri. The sessions that followed organised these shows on a more or less grand and comprehensive scale. But it must be said they were not pervaded with the spirit and insight which advanced industrial nations have manifested in the exhibitions held by them. Instead of making arrangements to show the processes of manufacture our raw products pass through in foreign countries, or suggesting lines of development for our existing industries, we collected samples of articles manufactured in India to give an opportunity to the agents of foreign manufacturers to take minute notes of them and prepare their cheap machine-made imitations to replace our manufactures in our own market. These remarks will, I hope, be borne in mind when such aims and exhibitions are organised in future.

The short time at our disposal has not enabled us to exhibit Indian-made articles on these grounds. We have tried to meet this deficiency by holding a small but excellent exhibition of handlooms, including some from Surat itself. This is the first time, therefore, that our Conference meets without its parent institution. This break, let us however hope, will conduce to a modification of the ideals of future exhibitions.

Brother-delegates, we have assembled here to deliberate with a view to take practical steps for the vital question of the industrial regeneration of ourselves, on which all other questions—political, social, religious—depend to a greater or less extent. This platform of science and industry makes room for all classes of the people to meet together, laying aside personal ambition, political animosity, religious prejudices and State officialism,

so that they could all combine in an unanimous effort to raise every class in society to a higher condition of personal excellence and usefulness, and extinguish class distinctions by diffusing equal education. We have taken in hand this most vital question and we cannot allow any further time to pass by, without organised action, to raise our nation to the rank from which it has fallen.

I may now crave your indulgence for a brief reference to the great problems on which the industrial efficiency of a nation depends. Keeping aside the political, geographical and sociological factors, we may touch the economic factors which have been repeatedly pointed out in lucid and definite language as being available in our country. Our fertile lands, rich mines, vast forests and hidden treasures, the natural forces pent up in the mighty waterfalls of the rivers that irrigate India—the capital hoarded in temples and invested in non-industrial transactions—the abundant labour that can be obtained on easy terms—have not arrested the decay and poverty with which we are overwhelmed. Our ignorance and apathy, and the influence exerted by foreign manufacturers on our fiscal policy, have reduced us to such a state.

For the last so many years we have been working for the progress of our nation, but, I must say, without a proper grasp of the methods and aims of that progress. We have neglected the lines of the solution of economic problems followed by the foremost nations of to-day. Some of our national problems would ere now have been solved to a great extent, if systematic technical education along with general education had been introduced throughout India. Japan adopted technical education 25 years after our benign Government initiated the present educational system in India, and during such a short period she has become

a comparatively trained nation, trained to think, trained to do the best along any line that may turn up and has grown into a world-power whose friendship and goodwill are sought by other nations. But what has been our fate? Our indigenous industries have been crippled by foreign competition or have languished for want of a proper application of the modern industrial methods. The nation that proudly called herself the workshop of the world, allowed our country to be degraded into one of the chief markets of the world. Foreign syndicates make use of India's natural forces to deprive her of mineral wealth, in the absence, among other causes, of enterprise and adequate training on the part of the people.

For example, the Mysore Government is generating electric power in the Cauvery at a tremendous outlay of its people's money and has leased it to a foreign syndicate to exploit the mineral wealth of the State in return for a small royalty. The resources of the State are doubtless developed thereby, but its people have not been profited to the extent they ought to have been, and have not acquired any aptitude for scientific mining or for making use of the natural forces.

What is thus happening in Mysore also operates more or less all over the country. The Indian Government is trying to develop the mineral resources of India, but it must be borne in mind that the development of a country is quite different from that of its people. The exploitation of America, Africa and Australia has resulted in the extinction or serfdom of the original inhabitants.* The present Amir of Afghanistan

* "If," adds Mr. Clark, "the Government would grant railway and mining concessions to foreigners, the country would develop rapidly, for its mines alone would attract many prospectors and, if found to be as extensive as currently believed, much capital would follow. The Government and people, however, are united in opposing any concessions to foreigners."—*The Indian Trade Journal*, Dec. 12, 1907.

fully realises this difference and does not grant concessions to foreign capitalists to work the rich mineral deposits in his country, but engages foreign experts to train his subjects to develop the resources of the country themselves. This shows that the Amir cares more for the permanent interests of his subjects, than for the temporary gain to his treasury from concessions to foreign syndicates on easy terms.

The charge of this neglect of duty, however, does not wholly attach to our Government. We must share it in part, because the pioneers of modern industries in India have not combined their energies together to devise ways and means for organising a system of technical education managed by and for them.

We shut our eyes to the benefits other nations have reaped through an efficient educational system in their countries. Our very bones and marrow (oilseeds) are exported to fertilise other lands, and our corn is exported to feed others when our people barely get one meal per day. Our raw products are sent to foreign countries and imported as manufactured goods. Thus the large margin of profit that should have served to feed our own brethren goes to enrich the foreign manufacturer.

All this happens under our own eyes. Not being provided with the modern industrial facilities and mental equipment, we have been reduced to a state of helplessness and we suffer ourselves to be impoverished and our country to be exploited by foreigners.

I cannot omit to mention in this connection the work the Government and some of our enlightened people have done in this direction. Our rulers have in their own way and in accordance with their light and interest fostered education, general and technical, have carried on economic and industrial investigations,

have organised departments deemed necessary for the industrial expansion of modern times—undertaken experiments and convened conferences for the development of the resources of India. But the people of this country have themselves availed but little of these surveys of the reports and monographs published by the Government or of the results of its experiments and investigations, because they were never taught the modern methods of handling industrial questions.

In the same way, the large sums subscribed by our people were utilised by the Government for educational purposes in accordance with the prevalent ideas about education. Had a portion of these sums been spent in educating our artisans, farmers and capitalists in the ways and means pursued by the people of Europe and America, we would not have been made dependent on others for the necessities of our life. Our Princes introduced facilities for technical studies in their States, but their measures were not carried out in the right patriotic spirit which demands in educationists earnestness, completeness and foresight, especially in a country like India, rich in resources and abounding in people addicted to conservative and exploded methods of work and unaware of the progressive and scientific methods of advanced nations.

Lord Reay's famous resolution on technical education fell into desuetude because persons entrusted to carry it out did not possess the essential qualification just mentioned. The resolution aimed at making Sir J. J. Art School a central institute for art industries, the V. J. T. Institute one for mechanical industries, and the Poona College of Science one for scientific and technological studies. But when Mr. Chatfield was interpellated in the Bombay Legislative Council as to the fate of the resolution, his

reply was to the effect that the problem of industrial training was being solved by the Baroda Technical School.

The Kalabhavan of Baroda was instituted when H. H. the Gaekwar initiated his enlightened policy for the advancement of his subjects. General education, the foundation of all technical education, was made free and compulsory in one division of the State, *i.e.*, in Amreli, and by this time it is extended to all the divisions. Three trade schools were also opened. A State museum was established and a system of industrial loans was instituted on the lines of the culture system of Java suggested by the great Ranade. This liberal policy encouraged me to organise the Kalabhavan which had for its ideals the Zurich and Charlottenburg Technical Schools. It undertook to impart instruction in such subjects as would not only serve the present industrial needs of the people, but enable them to start new industries. After making some preliminary remarks, I shall refer to the work done by it in this direction.

The industry that occupies a prominent place in our commercial life is the mill industry. Its commercial and mechanical sides are attended to, but, until recently, no thought was devoted to the development of its chemical and artistic aspects. Our technical schools are partly responsible for the neglect of these important factors in mill industry. With the single exception of the Kalabhavan, they rested satisfied with the provision of instruction, which the existing needs of the industry required and took no steps to introduce studies necessary for its further development. The V. J. Technical Institute is now arranging for instruction in dyeing and textile chemistry twenty years after the Kalabhavan took up the subjects at Baroda.

The Kalabhavan had a great share in the introduction of the dyeing industry in India. When our vegetable colours were

driven out from the world's market, which they had held for centuries, by the marvellous colours modern chemistry had extracted from coal-tar; when our dyers and weavers were reduced to poverty, their occupations having been taken up by others, there was no recourse left but to make use of these new colours and not to pay unnecessarily for the process of dyeing carried on outside India. Germany, the home of these chemical dyes, was anxious to secure a market for them in India. Our mill industry also needed a healthy growth and development. These considerations led me to suggest to the great colour manufacturers of Germany to train students and instruct native dyers in the use of their dyes if they desired India to become one of their great consumers. They appreciated the suggestion and acted upon it, and started their first laboratory in this very city and commenced to instruct students and native dyers in the processes connected with dyeing. When Mr. J. N. Tata heard about this, he at once communicated with me and made up his mind to append a dye-house to his mill, with the help of dyers trained in my private laboratory at Burda. Even a costly laboratory set of dyeing apparatus was presented to his mill through me by the German manufacturers. Dyeing schools were soon after opened at Ahmedabad, Delhi, Cawnpore, Amritsar and other places under my supervision and several trained dyers were sent round as travelling agents. There are now several laboratories in Bombay connected with German offices where students are trained. These are the educational methods the Germans adopted for their purely commercial purposes, and the result is the present remarkable revival in our dyeing industry. My friend Mr. Tulsiram, who introduced dyeing into Madura, informed me, at the time of the last Bombay Congress, that 47,000 Sorathi settlers have been blessing the trained

dye sent by me to Madura some years back, and the Glasgow turkey-red yarn manufacturers had to send their agents to Madura to enquire why all the imports were stopped and what were the methods of dyeing adopted there. Since that time an extensive use of coal-tar colours is made in India, and thus is saved to her the margin of profit swallowed by Lancashire and Glasgow. The dyers and the experts of these German firms were assisted by the students of the Kalabhavan in developing the dye-houses of our mills. They are saving the mill industry from stagnation, are giving remunerative work to thousands of workmen and showing productive investments of capital. They are successfully working the dye-houses which costly foreign experts failed to do. Had it not been for these pioneers to whom the flourishing conditions of mills is indebted to a great extent, our manufacturers would not have been enabled to meet the demands the Swadeshi movement is making on them.

We live in a time when new ideas are spreading. For instance, many believe—and their number is on the increase—that since Government cannot be expected to promote our industries by a policy of protection, we should promote them ourselves by means of a consumers' league to boycott foreign articles. Now I do not wish to assert either that boycott is altogether impracticable or it is altogether useless. What I do wish to point out is that boycott can never by itself solve an industrial problem. For instance, the wood agriculturists of England boycotted indigo, branding it "Devil's Drug" and the Legislature also came to their aid by passing the harshest laws to punish those who imported it. But the use and import of indigo went on in England until modern chemistry produced the colouring matter artificially and at less cost. Scientific knowledge, technical

skill, and industrial enterprise and organisation—these are the true remedies, the only positive forces we can rely on to develop our industries.

It has been pointed out above that the expansion of mill industry has not been attended with the parallel development of the chemical industries. Many raw products await chemists to transform them into articles of use and commerce. Take for instance, the varieties of seeds our land produces from year to year. They are sent to foreign countries to provide us with their oils and derived products. If we started oil mills, a group of chemical industries will come into existence and utilise the by-products. You are not unaware of the new and unexpected avenues of industries, which the chemistry of by-products opens up in the West. For the last twenty years I have been preaching the great future that lies in store for oil industry in our country. The dazzling prospects that the textile industry holds forth, however, leaves little room for it to attract capitalists and manufacturers.

Another disadvantage we suffer from—the lack of chemical knowledge—is seen in mining and metallurgical operations. We have been quarrying mineral deposits and exporting them to Europe because we do not know how to make them into articles of use. The minerals that demand chemical treatment are not touched but only those which can be readily and easily transhipped to Europe. The gigantic scheme of the late Mr. J. N. Tata to work iron ores, which have been allowed to remain undisturbed until now, will, no doubt in course of time, bring about a steady progress in our metallurgical undertakings and stimulate the growth of an extensive mining industry.

“The feature which stands out most prominently in a survey of the mineral industries of India is the fact that practi-

cally nothing has been done to develop those minerals, which are essential to modern metallurgical and chemical industries, while most striking progress has been made during recent years in opening out deposits from which products are obtained suitable for export, or for consumption in the country, by what may conveniently be called direct processes."

"In this respect India of to-day stands in contrast to India of a century ago. The European chemist, armed with cheap supplies of sulphuric acid and alkali and aided by low sea freights and increased facilities for internal distribution by a spreading network of railways, has been enabled to stamp out, in all but remote localities, the once flourishing native manufactures of alum, the various alkali compounds, blue vitriol, copperas, copper, lead, steel and iron, and seriously to curtail the export trade in nitre and borax. The high quality of the native-made iron, the early anticipations of the processes now employed in Europe for the manufacture of high-class steels and the artistic products in copper and brass gave the country a prominent position, in the ancient metallurgical world."

"With the spread of railways, the development of manufactures connected with jute, cotton, and paper, and the gradually extending use of electricity, the demand for metallurgical and chemical products in India has steadily grown. Before long the stage must be reached at which the variety and quantity of products required, but now imported, will satisfy the conditions necessary for local production of those which can be economically manufactured only for the supply of groups of industries."

What line of action does this extract from the new "Imperial Gazetteer" suggest to us? What steps are necessary to develop our mining industry on a scientific basis? Instruction in mining and metallurgy either in the existing colleges or in an Institute

of Mining, will alone lead to the fulfilment of prospects, our rich mineral deposits hold forth. By its means another great staple industry will come into existence and supply the people of India with commercial activity and remunerative work and repay the cost of education thousand-fold.

We have to blame our Government for not rousing itself to the necessity of creating a great Institute of Mining. The great work it is carrying on for the improvement of agriculture should be supplemented by some efforts in this direction, because all chemical industries depend upon agriculture and mining. Its agricultural improvements will take time before they are universally adopted throughout India, but provision of instruction in mining and of facilities for the working of mines will give a stimulus to the prosperity of India and check impoverishment and destitution to which villages after villages have fallen victim through the changing conditions of the times.

We are fortunate in having big Native States to look after our interests. If our Government does not shake off its tardiness, let us appeal to the great ruling princes of India to set apart a portion of their revenues to supply this great want. The money spent on it will be repaid by the enhancement of their revenues caused by the industries which will spring up in connection with the working of the mineral wealth which lies imbedded in their territories or in British India.

In this connexion I have great pleasure to announce to you that H. H. the Thakore Saheb of Morvi intends to establish a Technical Institute in his State. It will provide instruction in technological chemistry and in mining and metallurgy for which there is a great field and demand in India. The institute will provide higher standard of studies than that provided for at the Kalabhavan.

Kathiawad and Cutch contain great possibilities of development for some chemical industries. The valuable deposits of salt and iron pyrites there hold forth bright prospects for the manufacture of soda and sulphuric acid—the two great pillars of chemical industries. The people of Kathiawad and Cutch do not lack enterprise. Let some of them divert their energies from the cotton trade and go in for these industries. If they do so, the favourable geographical position, rich geological formations and the patriotic interests of the chiefs will, within a decade, transform the two peninsulas into a great manufacturing centre and drive out for ever the recurring famines which depopulate and paralyse some of the Native States.

For want of time, I have to leave off reference to important industries such as tanning, brewing, glass and porcelain and many others which have a great future before them.

Indigenous Indian industries are characterised by the simplicity of tools and implements employed by the workers. The labour unit of Indian industry is small and the capital required for working that unit successfully is also small. Time has brought us, whose industries possess these characteristics, face to face with modern achievements of Western science, and its multifarious inventions in the mechanical, chemical and electrical branches. So on the one hand we have to produce on a large scale and to adopt the factory system, but on the other hand we have also to rescue our small industries, and make them, with the help of modern science, a source of prosperity to our country. The question of cottage or village industries is one of the vital questions of our national life. There is some possibility of solving it, according to Professor Hobson,* if a cheap produc-

* "Science in Public Affairs."

tion of electric energy owned or controlled by the public can be cheaply distributed throughout India.

Let our industrial and political leaders concentrate their energies on the proper handling of a problem like this and solve it once for all. Many of the disadvantages we suffer from would thus find a remedy. Let our activities profit by the lesson the industrial history of the West has to teach to the world, that huge combinations for the maintenance of artificial prices, huge and lying advertisements and gross adulteration of manufactured products get rid, according to Prof. Duncan,¹ of the *efficiency* in manufacturing operations by which every business should naturally stand or fall. Let us not proceed on lines which have brought in their train misfortune and disaster. Instead of blindly following in the footsteps of Western manufacturers, let us adopt their latest methods of work, and introduce the systems devised to nullify the evil and disastrous consequences of those prevalent now. Let us bear in mind that the dominant factor of industrial success is just *simple efficiency*, by which I mean a combination of economy and progress in manufacturing operations. If we do this we shall not be handicapped in the competitive race of commerce but we shall be ahead of Western countries in proportion as we develop the nascent skill of our people and to the extent we make use of our resources.

We have undertaken a grave responsibility in meeting in such conferences from year to year. The destinies of India hang on the practical results of our deliberations. Consequently, I may be permitted to suggest some lines capable of leading us to the desired goal. We must not only apply ourselves to the study of the industrial conditions prevalent in

* "Chemistry of Commerce."

India and elsewhere, but should come to a definite conclusion as to the means and methods to be adopted to improve our condition in consonance with the highest developments of modern science. We should bring about the creation of all the facilities in India which the artisans, manufacturers and capitalists possess in the West. Economic and industrial museums' planned on the models of Europe and America, should be established in every important commercial and industrial centre. Our annual exhibitions may form a nucleus from which the future museums may grow in conformity with local conditions and requirements. A collection of samples of foreign manufactures should be placed side by side with that of home-made articles, so that local artisans may have the benefit of cultivating their taste in the proper direction by comparative study. Their heads should be patriotic Indians who possess sufficient experience of the needs and resources of India; they will furnish the requisite information and help to our people to go in for new productive industries. It is unnecessary to add that commercial bureaus must follow as a corollary to museums. The reports prepared at these institutions should not only be published in scientific and technical English which takes for granted a good deal of training, information and knowledge on the part of the readers, but also in the vernaculars and in a form devised to attract the attention of our people and to interest them in their contents, thereby inducing them to embark on the introduction or creation of new and profitable industries.

Our ancient guilds known as the Mahajanas in Gujarat have suffered disintegration with the permeation of British influence in India. The services they performed as social and commercial forces were great, but now they have fallen into

* Refer to Professor Gajjar's Museum Notes.

disuse. It is time that new guilds should be organised to meet the requirements of the times. They shall have to attend to the organisation of their industries, the creation of facilities in the shape of museums, bureaus, technical institutes, industrial banks, etc., to guard the interests of industrial centres and communities and to undertake industrial surveys in special directions. Our Conference will render a very important service to the industries of India, if it takes up the question of the formation of guilds seriously.

Only the Government has the means to carry out general industrial surveys. If they are properly carried out and their results placed within the reach of the teeming millions of India, the British Government will confer a great benefit on them. Our native princes may also be approached to come forward to help our industrial advancement by instituting economic surveys in their States. Our industrial development will be stimulated if surveys of particular industries are carried out instead of planning a general survey of the whole country. H. H. the Gaekwar entrusted me, some years ago, with the work of making a survey of the dyeing and calico printing industries. This survey was of considerable help to me in my subsequent work for the memorial of dyeing industries.

Before putting suggestions on the last but important problem of our industrial regeneration, I have a pleasant duty to perform. Our Conference has been fortunate enough in securing as its President my friend Dewan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal Desai, who is a distinguished alumnus of the Bombay University, a staunch political leader of Gujarat and one of the captains of her flourishing mill industry.

His high intellectual attainments, varied experience of life, keen and penetrative grasp of our national problems will, I am

sure, give a practical shape to our deliberations. The Industrial Conference is a practical offshot of the Indian National Congress. We, who have assembled here to-day, are all practical men and naturally anxious to work; we are idealists too; the industrial efficiency and expansion of India will be of the realisation of our ideals, if we put our shoulders to the wheel and work day and night for the amelioration and progress of our country.

Ladies and gentlemen, I have laid great stress on technical education and again I revert to it because it is the liver of industrial progress to which our activities must be seriously and vigorously applied. We must organise a national system of technical education with the help of industrial guilds which will formulate technical courses to meet local needs, start institutions where instruction in them can be provided and to raise funds to equip and finance such institutions. Let us all—all the workers in the onward march of India—rally round the banner of Education and leave no stone unturned to increase the brain-power of our nation. Let us not wait for the Government initiation in this matter. We must take our destinies into our own hands and the Government is sure to help us, when we help ourselves. Let us study the national forces of England, Germany and America in order to be enlightened as to the means and measures we should take for the regeneration and development of our industries. Without universal education, there is no salvation for us. We must undergo an intellectual revolution; our outlook of life and our present conception of mundane duties must be modified, if we want to remain as a nation and a nation full of youth and prosperity as in the days of yore. "Educate, educate, educate," must be the cry heard on all sides. Listen to the words of wisdom the present Secretary for War in England utters.

"Science," says the Rt. Hon'ble Mr. Haldane, "is essential to victory whether the struggle be in the arts of war or in those of peace. Organisation is the key to success; organisation depends on steady thinking, and thinking depends on ideas, ideas which give birth to ideals. For inspiration as well as guidance, those engaged in enterprise of every kind look more and more to the trained mind. They are forced to do so. We are learning that nothing can be accomplished on a large scale without the indispensable preliminary of first taking thought. And we are learning that the taking of thought requires at every turn, not only the expert,* but the highest type of expert knowledge." Then he goes on to show the great importance talent has attained in the modern world.

While speaking at Wakefield on October 17 at a public meeting held in connection with the Wakefield Education Guild, he said that "Higher education is of great value to those engaged in industrial pursuits; in fact, it is of value to the whole nation. Learning for learning's sake is a great text, and it does not shut out the utilitarian side. The profits of industrial enterprise go to the man of brains, to the man with the power of direction. This shows that it is vital to those engaged in industrial enterprises that they should have command of science and as much knowledge as they can get. Unless knowledge is spread among the people, there cannot be equality of opportunity. There is only one leveller, only one man who does anything substantial to make people equal, and that is the schoolmaster. Education in this country will never be right until the elementary school, the secondary school, and the university are linked together. The British people, perhaps, need education more than any other nation. We are very prosperous; we are very self-reliant; we have magnificent energy; if we had not, we should have been distanced in the race. But we are competing against science and the increasing science which science gives. We are being more and more handicapped in the race and it is our own individual powers that have enabled us

* Science in Public Affairs.

still to get to the goal in front of our competitors. Let us learn, before science makes still further advances and before they are appropriated by foreign nations, to bring ourselves at least up to this level."

Shall we rouse ourselves to the consciousness of the urgent need India stands in for trained skill and scientific thought? Shall we fritter away our energies, miss our opportunities, waste our resources in worthless and idle quarrelings for personal glorification, in listlessness and inaction, in the practice of ideals detrimental to our progress and take no steps to diffuse universal scientific education leading to a stupendous moral and intellectual revolution? Shall we remain satisfied with our industrial degradation and dependence and the increasing poverty of the masses, to be crushed in the struggle for existence and to be cursed and condemned by our posterity for the disgraceful legacy we'll bequeath to them? Shall we rely upon our rulers, when, as Mr. Haldane observes, they are themselves outstripped by Germany, America and other countries which have taken the fullest advantages of the progress of modern knowledge? It ought not to be so. We must make up our mind to found institutions for technical education and thereby raise our material condition. No progress is possible in the absence of material prosperity. No moral development, no intellectual achievements have taken place in countries where the material condition of the people is at a low level and where, consequently, life is a bundle of pessimism, inertia and apathy. We must not rest until temples dedicated to Sarasvati and Visvakarma, *i.e.*, colleges and polytechnics outnumber all the temples, mosques and churches which minister to the spiritual needs of the people. Our religious charities must be directed towards supplying us with brain-power. On brain-power depends the regeneration of India, her prosperity and integrity,

and also her salvation. I have great faith in it and have devoted the best years of my life to the imparting of education. I have always looked upon it as the great panacea for all the misfortunes we groan under.

The earnestness, sacrifices and martyrdom of some of our people have ushered in a new era in the history of our nation. We are all pulsating with a new life, new ideals and new vigour. Let us sanctify the birth of this new life by providing for universal education in India. Let us not wait for large funds but begin with whatever sum we get from our people. Let earnest and influential workers come forward to persuade our native chiefs, merchant princes and our middle classes to set apart a portion of their revenues and incomes for educational purposes in the same way as they do to satisfy the religious cravings. Education is a religious duty and let us gird up our loins to perform it to the best of our abilities.

I again accord you all a most cordial welcome to Surat on behalf of the Reception Committee. Surat has caught the spirit of the times and embarked on industrial activity. Let the same spirit inspire us to fulfil the mission which has brought us together. Let us thoroughly and systematically carry out the conclusions we arrive at. We have the necessary means present in abundance in our land; we have capable men in our ranks; we have guidance offered by the history and experience of England and other nations; why should we then hesitate to work out our industrial salvation? If we neglect the present opportunities, we shall have to pay a very heavy toll in future for mere existence. Let this dismal and depressing prospect spur us on to action, to stimulate and accelerate our industrial progress. If we will, we shall bring about our regeneration. With knowledge, with self-confidence, with determined action and with united endeavour in the sacred cause of our motherland, let us, ladies and gentlemen, resolve to work out our own regeneration.

THE THEISTIC CONFERENCE.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

SATYENDRA NATH TAGORE.

I feel myself highly flattered by your asking me to preside over this Conference. When the proposal was first brought before me, I felt some hesitation in accepting it, not because my spirit was unwilling, but because of my conscious incompetence to adequately discharge the arduous duties of the office. A moment's consideration, however, was sufficient to overcome my scruples. I felt that Guzerat had strong claim to command my services, however humble in my own estimation they might be. I also felt that I was called upon to appear not before captious critics, ever ready to find fault, but before kind and indulgent friends, ever ready to forgive and overlook my shortcomings. It was in Guzerat where I spent the earliest and best part of my life and the Prarthana Samaj of Ahmedabad was the first to welcome me to its pulpit, which was often graced by our revered brother Bholanath Sarabhai and other worthy men. So you see, I am now here before you, with a message from the Brahmo Samaj of Bengal, and what is that message to be? I do not think that I can do better than crave your indulgence for a few minutes while I endeavour to lay before you some of the distinctive tenets of our Samaj and its claim to the allegiance of educated India.

And first of all I would wish to point out to you that the religion of the Brahmo Samaj is essentially national in its basis and development.

There is a national as there is a universal aspect of religion. As each nation has to elaborate its own art, its own literature, its own system of law, so each nation has to perfect its own religion. Even after a universal faith has appeared, religion does not cease to be a national thing. Each people moulds the universal religion which it has adopted into a special form, continues by means of it the rites and traditions of the past and expresses through it its own national character and aspirations. Each nation as well as each individual must necessarily have a faith specially its own, arising out of its own character and experiences and in great part incommunicable to others. No two nations could possibly exchange religions. What I contend is that the religion of the Brahmo Samaj is not an exotic plant, but is closely interwoven with our religious history of the past.

We have to trace the existing form of our religion to its source—the Vedic form of Nature-Worship.

The Vedic religion takes its name from the Rig Veda, the oldest portion of Indian literature, and the earliest literary document of Aryan religion. Of the four Vedas or collections of hymns, the Rig Veda is the oldest and most interesting. The religion of the hymns is a strongly national one. The Aryans appeal to their gods to help them against the races, afterwards driven to the south and to the sea-coasts, who differ from themselves in colour, physiognomy, in language, in manners, and in religion.

The Veda, in the larger sense, is made up of three bodies of composition—Mantras, Brahmanas, and Upanishads. These three belong to revelation or *Sruti*, *i.e.*, hearing; what is con-

tained in these is to be regarded as having been heard by inspired men from a higher source. The counterpart of *Śruti* is "*Smṛiti*," *i.e.*, recollection, tradition. This embraces the *Sūtras* or works dealing with ceremonial, with the exposition of the *Vedas*, with domestic rites and conventional usages. The law books, the epics, and the *Purāṇas*, or ancient legendary histories, also belong to this class.

The Vedic religion has no idols ; it has no dark description of hell ; the rigid caste system, on which later Brahmanism was based, is absent from it ; it has no demons to be guarded against, and no bad deities. The Vedic religion is a bright and happy system, and the primitive beliefs of mankind, less changed by our people than they were elsewhere, are here to be seen. The hymns show the kind of faith to which a strong and happy race of men naturally came, as their minds began to open to the wonders of the world they lived in, the faith of primitive shepherds praising their "gods as they lead their flock to pasture."

But there is another side to that religion which has to be considered. The Vedic leaders of religion were not merely champions of enlightenment in religion, they were also ritualists ; the rite was to them an end in itself ; the proper performance of sacrifice was their principal object. The ideas connected with sacrifice are not indeed very lofty. Sacrifice is, in the first place, a barter. Gifts were provided for the gods that they may give in their turn. In the Vedic period there were several orders of sacrifice—the hymns of the *Rig Veda* have to do with the *Soma* sacrifice alone—and several kinds of priests practising an elaborate ritual. The priest and those he acts for are so intent on the minutiae of their celebration, that they forget all about the God they are intended for. This

process, which may be observed wherever ritualism exists, was carried in the period of Brahmanism to its utmost length. In this period the old gods lost the strong hold they had before over the people's mind; men ceased to look for their gods to the sky or to the tempest, and began to look instead to the long ceremonies of the priest or to the hymns he chanted at the altar or to the austerities he practised.

However that might be, the Rig Veda did a great work for India in inculcating gods who were moral and to whom man was drawn by higher than selfish motives. In all aberrations of the Indian religion, the high moral standard set by the Vedic gods is never lost sight of.

There is no Supreme God in the Veda, or, rather, each god is supreme in turn; the poet wants a god capable of being exalted in every way and does so exalt the god he has before him. In this way a monotheism is reached; the mind recognises a god to whom unlimited adoration can be paid. But it is a monotheism, the titular god of which is always changing; and Professor Max Muller gives to this partial monotheism the name of henotheism; that is, the worship of one god at a time, without any denial that other gods exist and are worthy of adoration. Indeed, the sense of unity in Indian religion is very strong; from the first the Indian mind is seeking a way to adjust the claims of various gods and view them all as one—

एकं सद्भिर्ग्रा बहुधा वदन्ति इन्द्रं यमं मातरिश्वानमाहुः

The one Sat is described by sages as many, such as Indra, Yama, Matarishwan.

An early idea which makes in the direction of unity is that of Rita, the order, not specially connected with any one god, which rules both in the physical and moral world and with which all beings have to reckon—

Mitra and Varuna, before all other gods, uphold the physical and moral order of the world; they are lords of Rita, watchers over it, its charioteers and guides. The most prominent is Varuna, who sees all, knows all, orders all, from whom nothing can be hid. He is the protector of the good. Whoever transgresses, sins against Varuna and may be punished by him. Yet he is a god of mercy and forgiveness. His hymns express the loftiest ethics of the Veda. In the following a sinner prays for forgiveness—

मृडा सुज्ञत्वं मृडय

Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

If I go trembling like a cloud driven by the wind:

Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy,

Through want of strength,

Thou strong and bright god, have I gone astray,

Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

Wherever we men, O God, commit an offence before the heavenly
host;

Wherever we break the law through thoughtlessness.

Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy.

The one great perplexing question for all mankind, the question as to what becomes of man after death, still continues to perplex the human mind, if haply it might find some solution. Yama was the first mortal to find the after world.

Those who had done good in this world, those who had performed sacrifices, been liberal, warriors or ascetic saints, gained the happy heaven where dwelt Yama with the fathers and the gods who have passed to the land.

Heaven, a happy hereafter, was all that was looked forward to by these Vedic Aryans. Throughout the hymns there is no weariness of life, no pessimism, the day's work had to be done, a new home won with sword in hand, there were friendly gods to cheer on the warriors.

The yearning for rest in god with which noble hearts are possessed in all ages breathes in several exquisite hymns of the Rigveda. The following beautiful prayer, poetical gem of purest water, is addressed to Soma—I will read the original first; you will see the language is simple enough and will be readily understood.

यत्र ज्योतिर्जखं यस्मिन् लोके स्वरहितं तस्मिन् मां धेहि पवमान अमृते लोके अङ्गिते । यत् राजा वैवस्वतो यत्रावरोधनं दिवः यत्रामूर्बृहतीरापः तत्रमां अमृतं कधि । यत्रानुकामं चरणं त्रिनाकं त्रिदिवेदिवः लोका यत्र ज्योतिष्मन्तस्तत्र मां अमृतं कधि । यत्र कामानिकामाश्च यत् वृधस्य विष्टपं स्वधा च यत् तृप्तिश्च तत्र माममृतं कधि । यत्रानन्दश्च मोदाश्च मुदः प्रमुद आसते कामस्य यन्नाप्ताः कामास्तत्र मामृतं कधि ।

Where there is eternal light,

In the world where the sun is placed.

In that immortal imperishable world place me, O Soma !

Where the son of Vivaswat reigns as king, where the secret place of heaven is, where the mighty waters are, there make me immortal.

Where the life is free in the third heaven of heavens, where the worlds are radiant there make me immortal.

Where wishes and desires are, where the bowl of the bright Soma is, where there is food and rejoicing, there make me immortal.

Where there is happiness and delight, where joy and pleasure reside, where the desires of our desire are attained, there make me immortal.

The powers of nature present themselves to the Rishis of old, as so many personal agents. Every striking and unexpected change in the things around them is an extra-volitional activity. They see god in clouds and hear him in the wind. Thus a multitude of personalities manifest themselves in rain, in fire, in wind, in storms, and in the sun. They stand above and roundabout the people in ever-varying aspects, powerful to befriend or injure them.

Thus worship of the personalities of Nature with a view to material benefits gradually hardened into a series of rites to be performed by the priesthood. Minute rules were framed for every step of the sacrificial procedure, and explanations invented to give every implement and every act its symbolic import. In this process has the transition been effected from the religion of the Mantras, the hymns, the spontaneous effusions of the primitive seers and Rishis to the religion of the Brahmanas, the petrified ceremonial and formal symbolism of the liturgists. The later form of the Vedic religion received the name of Karmakanda or ritual department of the Vedas.

The period of Hymns or Mantras was followed by the period of the ritual and legendary compilations known as the Brahmanas. Of these Brahmanas, particular portions, to be repeated only by Sanyasis of the forest, were styled Aranyakas and to the Aranyakas were attached the treatises which, setting forth as a hidden wisdom the philosophy of the Upanishads, in contradistinction with the Karmakanda or the ritual portion, received the name of Jnankanda or gnostic portion of Sruti or everlasting revelation. Thus we are confronted with another side of religion than that directing itself to external gods or occupying itself with outward acts. The inner world of the mind is growing larger as the outer gods grow shadowy; it is being found that salvation may be reached by inward efforts as well as by outward rites, that the search for wisdom and the work of self-conquest and a union with the deity, which is quite apart from any offering or any form of worship, also lead to salvation. In the philosophy of the Brahmanic period the transition is definitely made from the service of god external to man, by the mechanical apparatus of rites, to the acknowledgment of a Divine Being with whom man feels himself to be inwardly akin and to whom

he draws near by his own spiritual effort. This movement found its expression in the Upanishads which form the third branch of the sacred knowledge.

Thus we find, in fact, two religions prevailing in India in the period of Brahmanism—Karma Marga, or the path of rites, for the people of the villages, living as if life with its pleasures and pains were real; and the Jnana Marga, or the path of knowledge for the sages that had quitted the world and sought the quiet of the forest renouncing the false ends and empty fictions of common life and intent upon re-union with the sole reality, the Self that is one in all things living. This leads us, as stated above, to the primitive type of Indian philosophy as it develops itself in the Upanishads.

The Indian sage seeking out the primal cause of creation had first to sweep away all that which had been produced and to his gaze there remained but the essence Brahman, from which all things issued forth and into which all things resolve themselves. There remained also, the self, the soul, the Atman of man. There was but one step further to reach and that was taken when all duality vanished and Brahman became the highest Self, the Paramatman, the Universal Self into which was merged the Atman or self of man. Thus the self was extended throughout all existence to mutually all-permeating universal identity with Brahman, till the two conceptions became indistinguishable.

The key-note of the old Upanishads is 'know thyself'; but, as Max Muller rightly observes, with a much deeper meaning than that of the watchword of the Delphic Oracle. The 'know thyself' of the Upanishads means, know thy true self, that which underlies thine Ego and find it and know it in the highest,

the Eternal Self, the one without a second, which underlies the whole world.

This was the final solution of the search after the Infinite, the Invisible, the Divine—a search begun in the simplest hymns of the Veda and ended in the Upanishads or, as they were afterwards called, the Vedānta or the highest object of the Veda.

But it must be clearly understood that the authors of the Upanishads were poets rather than philosophers, and it would be unreasonable to expect that systematic uniformity in its teachings which we find in the later systems of philosophy.

It was an epoch in the history of the human mind when the identity of the subjective Self and Brahman, the Universal Self was, for the first time, perceived and the name of the discoverer—Sandilya—has not been forgotten. It would be, however, a mistake to suppose that the Advaita doctrine or Idealism was the only doctrine inculcated by the Upanishads. A vein of Theism also runs through many of them, whatever the great commentator Shankara might say to the contrary. It would be easy to select numerous passages from the Upanishads either unmistakably Theistic or capable of a Theistic interpretation.

The number of the gods in Vedic times was usually given as thirty-three. The plurality is replaced by Unity in the Upanishads. The Rishis of the Upanishads clearly perceived the one true God—*एकमेवाद्वितीयं*—in the face of nature and in the individual self of man. They proclaimed this great truth—

सयश्चायं पुरुषे यश्चासौ आदित्ये स एकः

He that is in the Sun and in the Self of man (purusha)—he is one.

The dependence of the nature gods of the Veda on Brahman is described in the myth of Kena :—Agni is unable to burn a blade of grass, Vayu is unable to blow away a wisp of straw, apart from the will of Brahman which is effective in all the gods. The doctrine of a personal god appears to be taught in many of the Upanishads. In the Khataka Upanishad, the Supreme and the individual Self are distinguished as light and shadow—

छाया तपौब्रह्मविदो वदन्ति

Coming to Swetavara, the leading example of Theistic teaching of the Upanishad, we find God and the Soul, though their original identity is not denied, are yet clearly distinguished from one another. Thus we read—

द्वा सुपर्णा सयुजा सखाया समाने वृक्षे परिष्वजाते तयोरग्नयः पिप्पलं
त्वाद्वैतान्श्रन्योऽभिचाकशीति । समाने वृक्षे पुरुषो निमग्नोऽनीशया शोचति
मुह्यमानः जुष्टं यदा पसात्यन्यमीशमसा महिमानमिति पीतशोकः ।

Two bright-feathered bosom friends
Flit around one and the same tree ;
One of them tastes the sweet berries,
The other without eating, merely gazes down.
On such a tree the spirit depressed
In its weakness mourns, a prey to illusion ;
Yet when it gazes, worshipping, on the might
And majesty of the other, then its grief departs.

In the first place we have Brahman as the creator.

सदेवसौम्येदमग्र आसीत्—एकमेवाद्वितीयं

मवा ऐष महानज आत्मा

In the beginning, O beloved, there was only the Sat, one without a second. He is this Great Atma, himself unborn.

He deliberated I will create worlds, accordingly he created these worlds—the ocean, atmosphere, earth, and the waters.

Brahman as ruler and preserver of the universe the Ishvara, the Dhata. This is made manifest in the familiar text 'Tamishvaram Param Maheshwaram,' etc.

The Divine omnipresence is depicted in Swetasvatara योदेवोऽग्नौ, &c.

The God, who is in the fire, and in the water,
Who has entered into the entire universe
Who dwells in vegetables and in trees
To this God be honour, be honour.

It is a consequence of the omnipresence of the Atma that all creatures share in the bliss which is his essence.

From a small portion only of this bliss other creatures have their life—

कोह्येवान्यात् कः प्राप्यात् यदेष आकाश आनन्दो न सात्

for who could breathe, who live if that bliss were not in the Akasa—for it is he who creates bliss.

The most beautiful picture of the omnipotence of God is found in Yajnavalkya's discourse with Gargi in Brihadaranyaka—

एतस्य वा अक्षरस्य &c.

"At the bidding of this imperishable one, O Gargi, heaven and earth are held together; at the bidding of this imperishable one, O Gargi, the minutes and the hours are held together, the days and nights, the fortnights, the months, the seasons and the years. At the bidding of this Akshara, O Gargi, the streams run from the snowy mountains, some to the East others to the West, whithersoever each goes; at the bidding of this Akshara, O Gargi, men praise the beautiful givers, the gods desire the sacrifices, the fathers the offerings of the dead". Atma has been compared to a Setu or bridge—

"He is the lord of the universe, he is the ruler of living beings, he is the protector of living beings, he is the bridge which keeps asunder the worlds, to prevent them dashing together!"—

स सेतुर्विधरण एषां लोकानामसम्भेदाय

Then, again,

We have Brahman as Providence

Sa no bandhurjanita sa Vidhata.

He is the friend, the father, he is our dispenser—

कविर्मनीषी परिभूः सयम्भू र्यायातथ्यतोऽर्थान् व्यदधाच्छाश्वतीभ्यः

समाभ्यः

The wise, thoughtful, all-comprehending, self-existent one has assigned the ends, fulfils the needs of creatures for all time. But it is needless to multiply instances. What has been given above is sufficient to show that there is a strong theistic element pervading the Upanishads just as there is a pantheistic element therein.

The study of the Upanishads has exercised a singular fascination over scholars both of the East and West, and it is interesting to hear what Schopenhauer, one of the greatest philosophical critics of Germany, says of the Upanishads

"In the whole world," he writes, "there is no study so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life. It will be the solace of my death."

It was from the Upanishads that the founders and leaders of our Samaj derived their spiritual nourishment. We all know what high value the illustrious Raja Ram Mohan Roy attached to the study of these sacred writings. He declared that in his judgment a selection from Upanishads, published and largely circulated, would contribute more than anything else to the moral and religious elevation of his fellow-country men. Maharshi Devendranath, my revered father, also devoted himself, heart and soul, to the study of the Upanishads. It is narrated in his autobiography how from a stray leaf picked up from the floor his attention was first drawn to these scriptures. But it was the theistic element in them that formed their chief attraction for him, and the Brahma Dharma which he compiled contain pas-

sages from the Upanishads either incontrovertibly theistic or are capable of a theistic interpretation. This book is our Shikshapatri—the Bible from which we draw our inspiration.

And now in conclusion, I wish to lay before you, in a short compass, the cardinal doctrines of Brahma Dharma as taught by the elders of our Samaj.

We have seen that the Rishis of old retired into the forest to lead there a life of prayer and meditation. We, however, in this age, need an every-day, a this-world religion—a religion that will make our life pure and holy, which will make us a good father, a loving mother, obedient and dutiful children, a faithful husband and a loving and devoted wife,—a religion that will make us honest and just in all our dealings with our fellowmen. The eternal life that we are now living will be well lived if we take good care of each little period of time as it presents itself day after day. We want, therefore, a religion, not of seclusion but of life. This may be called the New Dispensation of the Brahma Samaj which has been vouchsafed unto us by our elders.

The cardinal doctrines of our religion are :—

1st Worship of the one true living God. No idol or image worship. The plurality of the Vedic gods is replaced by the worship of one True God, the Para Brahma of the Upanishads. Vast multitudes have bowed down before images of wood, or stone or gold and silver ; but of them all it might be truly said “ eyes have they but they see not, they have ears but they hear not.” But you, brethren, you and I trust in the living God—of whom the Upanishads speak as Satyam Jnanamanantam Brahma, who is without ‘pratima’ or images—“na tasya pratima asti, yasya nama mahad yasaḥ”—Whose glory is proclaimed by heaven and earth and all that is in them

the active and immanent God not an absentee God—not a mere name, no phantom or myth conjured up by the imagination—the God who is the life of our life, the giver of life, the sustainer of life. We are living creatures but He is the living Creator.

2nd. Direct intercourse with God,—this is the most valuable teaching of the Upanishads. To realise His presence in the innermost depths of our soul. Direct communion. No Gurus or prophets to stand between our soul and our God. We are to see Him face to face, to hear His voice in the innermost depths of our conscience.

Prophets we revere, offer them our love, gratitude and admiration; but we do not invest them with divine or infallible authority nor do we follow them blindly—

दन्द्रम्यमाना परियन्तिमूढा अन्धेनैव नीयमाना यथान्धाः

like blind men led by the blind.

Every soul has its own capacity for religion. The question is one of the degree of development. It depends more on the experiences and sufferings and efforts of the individual than on gratuitous help from outside. A saviour, if he wishes to save me, must teach me in terms of my own experiences, not his own and ultimately must make me stand on my own legs. Whatever miracles he may work, he cannot work this, viz., that I should be religious by proxy. All this means that the roots of my salvation are within me and not outside. Once when Lord Buddha was dangerously ill, his favourite disciple Anand was very anxious that he should leave some instructions with regard to the Order, and this is what Buddha said "O Anand, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves Betake yourselves to no external

refuge." This holds good in the case of every earnest seeker after truth. The outcome of Buddha's teaching is this, that every man is wholly responsible for what he is and what he does and must himself work out his own salvation.

The attitude of the Brahmo Samaj towards the prophets of the world is this, as well observed by my friend Shinde in his little book on prophets, "The Brahmos in this respect do not so much deny the powers of the heroes in the religious world as assert the capacities of the rank and file. Being sure of the latter they give the former all their due." The temple of the Brahmo Samaj is co-extensive with the vault of the Infinite. Direct intercourse with Him is the highest privilege of every devout soul; direct communion, direct enlightenment from the most High is what we earnestly seek and pray for.

असतोमा सद्गमय तमसोमा ज्योतिर्गमय मृत्योर्मा अमृतं गमय—
आविरावीर्मयि ।

"Lead me from untruth to truth, from darkness unto light, from death unto immortality. Reveal thyself unto me," is our daily prayer.

If God is our Father, out of the fatherhood of God comes the sublime and inspiring truth of the divine sonship of humanity. The first cannot be true, unless the second is true also. The word 'Father' must be emptied of all its meaning if it does not assure us that we are His children. Every time we say 'पिता नोऽसि' Thou art our Father, we imply our own divine relationship to Him—our sonship. Jesus has always been recognised in his church as the son of God. But, as the second person of a mysterious Trinity, he has been taken up so high that humanity has lost sight of its brotherly relation to him. The truth beginning to break forth now is, that in the

divine humanity of Jesus we see the divine humanity of the race, in his divine sonship we see the type and assurance of the divine sonship of man.

Revelation—

Our doctrine of Revelation is this :—

Revelation, properly speaking, is a universal, not a partial gift.

God's revelation is not confined to a particular age or within the pages of a particular book ; that which was profitable to the soul of man in the golden days the Father revealed to the ancients, that which is profitable to the soul of man to-day revealeth he this day. Thankfully accepting many most sacred truths from other systems of belief, it would be essentially contradictory to the catholic character of its creed if it neglected the tests and credentials which these systems furnish for the truth so supplied. Our great object is to establish that communion of faith, partial at present, which shall pervade the religious consciousness of all men. Standing on the simplest foundation, simple but eternal, simple and undoubted, as God's Fatherhood, and the law of love among men, Brahmoism knocks at the door of every religious system, learns and admires the grand discoveries of truth made in it and stores up all for the universal church of the future.

Finally, we come to the question of authority.

We do not regard any authority as infallible. We reject the supreme authority of books and churches, not because we desire our thoughts to wander without regulation, not because we think a man is irresponsible for his belief, but because we desire our thoughts to be guided by those laws which God has written in the very constitution of the soul. Our chief objection to authoritative religion is that it detracts from the

validity of a man's immediate conviction of truth, deflects the mind for its own natural tendency and weakens the sense of personal responsibility. As rationalists, we uphold freedom of thought and the solemn duty of every man to prove all things and hold fast that which is good.

Rationalism is not rejection of all authority—it is the acceptance of the very highest authority we can find.

The soul with its divine consciousness, its spiritual experience, its interior laws, must become the final arbiter of the Church, the Bible and the creed. In every instance, the soul is the last resort, the final appeal, the supreme authority in whose consciousness every form and dogma must find verification, and whoever attempts to invalidate the soul's witness to truth is opening the floodgates to the most hopeless scepticism. We find, in studying the history of the world, that men have always been tempted to seek for some miraculous medium of knowledge, by which to get truth ready made, without the trouble of thinking for themselves. And at first, it does seem as if it would be convenient to have a patent religion to settle all our doubts, just as it would be convenient to have an infallible medicine to cure all the ills our flesh is heir to. But we find that Almighty God has not chosen to save us the trouble of thinking and working for ourselves. His method of providence is moral discipline, intellectual development, spiritual growth.

We are to feel our way to God; we are to work out our own salvation, knowing that every pure desire, and earnest effort testifies to the presence of the Divine Spirit working in us

When all men seek for truth by the unfettered exercise of their own faculties, then we may hope to find them gradually

approaching to that unity of the spirit, for which devout souls have always watched and prayed. Our own convictions of truth are fortified by discovering that they are more than personal and private, that they are shared by men in different ages and nations, that they are generic in human experience, that they are borne down upon thousands of souls with a power which no objections and difficulties of the analytic understanding can ever invalidate.

We base our faith on the truths of religion, on those things that cannot be shaken, even the constitution of human nature and the providential order of the world.

And here I would draw my imperfect observations to a close ; but before doing so I should like to add a few words more. I cannot let slip this opportunity without exhorting all sections of the Theistic Church to unite. There never was a time when united action amongst ourselves was more necessary than at present. Each section of the Brahmo Samaj, the Pararthana Samaj of Bombay, the Arya Samaj of Northern India and other theistic bodies—who all agree in the broader principles of our Faith—should they not combine their forces and try to conquer false gods, false creeds, and break through the barriers of caste that tend to keep us apart from one another ? Should not all theists unite themselves into a common brotherhood, ‘heart within and God overhead’ and strive towards the moral and spiritual elevation of their less favoured countrymen ? And here parenthetically I may throw out the suggestion that the Pararthana Samaj might advantageously adopt the name of Brahmo Samaj as a token of union with the theists of the parent Samaj in Bengal.

The view of God in regard to which we all agree is that He is the Infinite Spirit and Life and Power, that

is at the root of all. This mighty truth which we have agreed upon as the great central fact of human life is the golden thread that runs through all religions. And amidst all the diversity of religious and theological opinion, may we not detect practical unanimity on these points—the sovereignty and Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, the dignity of service, salvation through self-sacrifice, and the kingdom of Righteousness as the end of all aspiring endeavour, the goal of humanity?

“There is no lesson,” observed Professor Max Muller in his preface to the Sacred Books of the East, “which at the present time seems more important than to learn that we must draw in every religion a broad distinction between what is essential and what is not, between the eternal and the temporary, between the divine and the human”.

The sacred books, the inspired writings, all come from the same source—God; God, speaking through the souls of those who open themselves that He may thus speak. Some may be more inspired than others. It depends entirely on the relative degree that this one or that one opens himself to the Divine Voice.

Let us not be among the number so dwarfed, so limited, so bigoted as to think that the Infinite God has revealed Himself to one little handful of His children, in one little corner of the globe, and at one particular period of time. In truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons but in every nation he that revereth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him.

In brief, the great fundamental principles of all religions are the same. They differ only in their minor details according to the various degrees of development of different people.

Brethren, let us be catholic in the real sense of the term, unsectarian and broad-minded; the broad-minded see the truth in different religions, the narrow-minded see only the differences.

As the Persian poet says, there is only one religion. Whatever road we take forms the highway that leads to Thee.

So in Bhagavatgiti—ye yatha nam prapadyante tamstathaiva bhajamyaham;

mama vartmanuvartante manushyah partha sarvasah.

In whatever way men worship me, O Partha, I serve them in the same way. They all end by coming to the path that leads to me.

Before I sit down I should like to draw your attention to an event in which I am sure you will all feel interested. I may aptly be called the event of the year in the history of Brahma Samaj. I mean the opening of the Brahma Vidyalaya or Theological College for all India in Calcutta. For the rules and regulations and other particulars connected with the institution, I would refer you to the Assistant Secretary, Babu Hem Chandra Sarkar. What we urgently want is funds to put it on a sound basis. The Maharajahdhiraj of Burdwan generously contributes Rs. 300 a month towards its maintenance and the Maharaja of Maurbhunj has kindly promised a monthly subscription of Rs. 50 to the College Funds. But that is not enough. We want an endowment for a sum capable of yielding an income sufficiently large to meet the various requirements of the College. We want a number of advanced pupils—a good staff of professors and a suitable building, library, and all this requires money. I therefore appeal to the generosity of Rajahs, Maharajas and Shethias to open their purse-strings in aid of the institution. The different Samajes should give a guarantee that the passed students of

the College shall be provided for, so that in course of time we shall have a body of able workers to carry on the mission work. What has been already done is a good beginning, but much more remains to be accomplished to put the College on a secure footing.

And now I must really stop. I thank you heartily for the patient and indulgent hearing you have given me. If I have taken up your time unnecessarily, I beseech your forgiveness. My object was only to set the ball rolling and I trust that others here present will take it up in right earnest and give it a further push onward until it lands us to a common platform.

APPENDIX A.

THE SPLIT IN THE CONGRESS.

I. OFFICIAL PRESS NOTE.

The twenty-third Indian National Congress assembled yesterday in the Pavilion erected for it by the Reception Committee at Surat at 2-30 P.M. Over sixteen hundred delegates were present. The proceedings began with an address from the Chairman of the Reception Committee. After the reading of the address was over, Diwan Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal proposed that the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose having been nominated by the Reception Committee for the office of President under the rules adopted at the last session of the Congress, he should take the Presidential chair. As soon as the Dewan Bahadur uttered Dr. Ghose's name some voices were heard in the body of the hall shouting "no, no," and the shouting was kept up for some time. The proposer, however, somehow managed to struggle through his speech; and the Chairman then called upon Babu Surendranath Banerjee to second the proposition. As soon, however as he began his speech—before he had finished even his first sentence—a small section of the delegates began an uproar from their seats with the object of preventing Mr. Banerji from speaking. The Chairman repeatedly appealed for order but no heed was paid. Every time Mr. Banerjee attempted to go on with his speech he was met by disorderly shouts. It was clear that rowdiness had been determined upon to bring the proceedings to a stand-still, and the whole demonstration seemed to have been pre-arranged. Finding it impossible to enforce order, the Chairman warned the House that unless the uproar subsided at once, he would be obliged to suspend the sitting of the Congress. The hostile demonstration, however continued and the Chairman at last suspended the sitting for the day.

The Congress again met to-day at 1 P.M., due notice of the meeting having been sent round. As the President-elect was being escorted in procession through the Hall to the platform, an overwhelming majority of the delegates present greeted him with a most enthusiastic welcome, thereby showing how thoroughly they disapproved the organised disorder of yesterday. As this procession was entering the Pandal a small slip of paper written in pencil and bearing Mr. B. G. Tilak's signature was put by a volunteer into the hands of Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee. It was a notice to the Chairman that after Mr. Banerji's speech, seconding the proposition about the President was concluded, Mr. Tilak wanted to move "an amendment for an adjournment of the Congress." The Chairman considered a notice of adjourn-

ment at that stage to be irregular and out of order. The proceedings were then resumed at the point at which they had been interrupted yesterday, and Mr. Surendranath Banerjee was called upon to conclude his speech. Mr. Bannerjee having done this, the Chairman called upon Pandit Motilal Nehru of Allahabad to support the motion. The Pandit supported it in a brief speech and the Chairman put the motion to the vote. An overwhelming majority of the delegates signified their assent by crying "all, all" and a small minority shouted "no, no." The Chairman thereupon declared the motion carried and the Hon. Dr. Ghose was installed in the Presidential chair amidst loud and prolonged applause. While the applause was going on, and as Dr. Ghose rose to begin his address, Mr. Tilak came upon the platform and stood in front of the President. He urged that as he had given notice of an "amendment to the Presidential election," he should be permitted to move his amendment. Thereupon, it was pointed out to him by Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee that his notice was not for "an amendment to the Presidential election," but it was for "an adjournment of the Congress," which notice he had considered to be irregular and out of order at that stage; and that the President having been duly installed in the chair no amendment about his election could be then moved. Mr. Tilak then turned to the President and began arguing with him. Dr. Ghose in his turn, stated how matters stood and ruled that his request to move an amendment about the election could not be entertained. Mr. Tilak thereupon said, "I will not submit to this. I will now appeal from the President to the delegates." In the meantime an uproar had already been commenced by some of his followers, and the President who tried to read his address could not be heard even by those who were seated next to him. Mr. Tilak with his back to the President, kept shouting that he insisted on moving his amendment and he would, not allow the proceedings to go on. The President repeatedly appealed to him to be satisfied with his protest and to resume his seat. Mr. Tilak kept on shouting frantically, exclaiming that he would not go back to his seat unless he was "bodily removed." This persistent defiance of the authority of the chair provoked a hostile demonstration against Mr. Tilak himself and for some time, nothing but loud cries of "Shame Shame" could be heard in the Pandal. It had been noticed, that when Mr. Tilak was making his way to the platform some of his followers were also trying to force themselves through the volunteers to the platform with sticks in their hands. All attempts on the President's part either to proceed with the reading of his address or to persuade Mr. Tilak to resume his seat having failed, and a general movement among Mr. Tilak's followers to rush the platform with sticks in their hands being noticed, the President, for the last time, called upon Mr. Tilak to withdraw and formally announced to the assembly that he had ruled and he still ruled Mr. Tilak out of order and he called upon him to resume his seat. Mr. Tilak refused to obey and at this time a shoe hurled from the body of the Hall, struck both Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Mr. Surendranath Banerjee who were sitting side by side. Chairs were also hurled towards the platform and it was seen that Mr. Tilak's followers who were brandishing their sticks wildly were

trying to rush the platform which other delegates were endeavouring to prevent. It should be stated here that some of the delegates were so exasperated by Mr. Tilak's conduct that they repeatedly asked for permission to eject him bodily from the Hall; but this permission was steadily refused. The President, finding that the disorder went on growing and that he had no other course open to him, declared the session of the 23rd Indian National Congress suspended *sine die*. After the lady-delegates present on the platform had been escorted to the tents outside, the other delegates began with difficulty to disperse, but the disorder having grown wilder, the Police eventually came in and ordered the Hall to be cleared.

Rash Behari Ghose,
President.

DATED
27th December 1907.

Tribhovandas N. Malvi,
Chairman.

Reception Committee.

D. E. Wachha,

G. K. Gokhale,

Joint General Secretaries.

23rd Indian National Congress.

II. THE EXTERMISTS' VERSION.

A Press Note containing an official narrative of the proceedings of the 23rd Indian National Congress at Surat has been published over the signatures of some of the Congress officials. As this note contains a number of one-sided and misleading statements, it is thought desirable to publish the following account of the proceedings:—

PRELIMINARY.

Last year when the Congress was held at Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Congress, consisting of Moderates and Nationalists, *unanimously* resolved to have for its goal Swaraj or self-government on the lines of self-governing colonies, and passed certain resolutions on swadeshi, boycott and national education. The Bombay Moderates, headed by Sir P. M. Mehta, did not, at the time, raise any dissentient voice, but they seem to have felt that their position was somewhat compromised by these resolutions; and they had, since then, been looking forward to an opportunity when they might return to their old position regarding ideals and methods of political progress in India. In the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Surat in April last, Sir P. M. Mehta succeeded, by his personal influence, in excluding the propositions of Boycott and National Education from the programme of the Conference. And when it was decided to change the venue of the Congress from Nagpur to Surat, it afforded the Bombay Moderate leaders the desired-for opportunity to carry out their intentions in this respect. The Reception Committee at Surat was presumably composed largely of Sir Pherozshah's followers, and it was cleverly arranged by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to get the Committee nominate Dr. R. B. Ghosh, to the office of the President, brushing aside

the proposal for the nomination of Lala Lajpat Rai, then happily released, on the ground that "we cannot afford to flout Government at this stage, the authorities would throttle our movement in no time." This was naturally regarded as an insult to the public feeling in the country, and Dr. Ghosh must have received at least a hundred telegrams from different parts of India requesting him to generously retire in Lala Lajpat Rai's favour. But Dr. Ghosh unfortunately decided to ignore this strong expression of public opinion. Lala Lajpat Rai, on the other hand publicly declined the honour. But this did not satisfy the people who wished to disown the principle of selecting a Congress President on the above ground, believing as they did that the most effective protest against the repressive policy of Government would be to elect Lala Lajpat Rai to the chair.

The Hon. Mr. Gokhale was entrusted by the Reception Committee, at its meeting held on 24th November 1907 for nominating the President, with the work of drafting the resolutions to be placed before the Congress. But neither Mr. Gokhale nor the Reception Committee supplied a copy of the draft resolutions to any delegate till 2-30 P. M. on Thursday the 26th December, that is to say, till the actual commencement of the Congress Session. The public were taken into confidence only thus far that a list of the headings of the subjects likely to be taken up for discussion by the Surat Congress was officially published a week or ten days before the date of the Congress Session. This list did not include the subjects of Self-Government, Boycott and National Education, on all of which *distinct* and *separate* resolutions were passed at Calcutta last year. This omission naturally strengthened the suspicion that the Bombay Moderates really intended to go back from the position taken up by the Calcutta Congress in these matters. The press strongly commented upon this omission, and Mr. Tilak, who reached Surat on the morning of the 23rd December, denounced such retrogression as suicidal in the interests of the country, more especially at the present juncture, at a large mass meeting held that evening, and appealed to the Surat public to help the Nationalists in their endeavours to maintain at least the *status quo* in these matters. The next day, a Conference of about five hundred Nationalist Delegates was held at Surat under the chairmanship of Sriji Arbindo Ghose where it was decided that the Nationalists should prevent the attempted retrogression of the Congress by all constitutional means, even by opposing the election of the President if necessary; and a letter was written to the Congress Secretaries requesting them to make arrangements for dividing the house, if need be, on every contested proposition, including that of the election of the President.

In the meanwhile a press note signed by Mr. Gandhi, as Hon. Secretary, was issued to the effect that the statement, that certain resolutions adopted last year at Calcutta were omitted from the Congress programme prepared by the Surat Reception Committee, was wholly unfounded; but the draft resolutions themselves were still withheld from the public, though some of the members of the Reception Committee had already asked for them some days before. On the morning of 25th December, Mr. Tilak happened to get a copy of the draft of the proposed

constitution of the Congress prepared by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale. In this draft the object of the Congress was thus stated "The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire" &c., Mr. Tilak addressed a meeting of the Delegates the same morning at the Congress Camp at about 9 A. M. explaining the grounds on which he believed that the Bombay Moderate leaders were bent upon receding from the position taken up by the Calcutta Congress on Swaraj, Boycott and National Education. The proposed constitution Mr. Tilak pointed out was a direct attempt to tamper with the ideal of Self-Government on the lines of *Self-Governing* colonies, as settled at Calcutta and to exclude the Nationalists from the Congress by making the acceptance of this new creed an indispensable condition of Congress membership. Mr. Tilak further stated in plain terms that if they were assured that no sliding back of the Congress would be attempted the opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn. The Delegates at the meeting were also asked to sign a letter of request to Dr. Ghosh requesting him to have the old propositions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education taken up for re-affirmation this year; and some of the Delegates signed it on the spot. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer of Madras, Mr. Kharandikar of Satara and several others were present at this meeting and excepting a few all the rest admitted the reasonableness of Mr. Tilak's proposal.

Lala Lajpat Rai, who arrived at Surat on the morning of that day, saw Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde in the afternoon and intimated to them his intention to arrange for a Committee of a few leading Delegates from each side to settle the question in dispute. Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde having agreed, he went to Mr. Gokhale to arrange for the Committee if possible; and Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde returned to the Nationalist Conference which was held that evening (25th December). At this Conference a Nationalist Committee consisting of one Nationalist Delegate from each Province was appointed to carry on the negotiations with the leaders on the otherside; and it was decided that if the Nationalist Committee failed to obtain any assurance from responsible Congress officials about the *status quo* being maintained, the Nationalist should begin their opposition from the election of the President. For the retrogression of the Congress was a serious step, not to be decided upon only by a bare accidental majority of any party, either in the Subjects Committee or in the whole Congress (as at present constituted), simply because its Session happens to be held in a particular place or Province in a particular year; and the usual unanimous acceptance of the President would have, under such exceptional circumstances, greatly weakened the point and force of the opposition. No kind of intimation was received from Lala Lajpat Rai, this night or even the next morning, regarding the proposal of a Joint Committee of reconciliation proposed by him, nor was a copy of the draft resolutions supplied to Mr. Tilak, Mr. Khaparde or any other Delegates to judge if no sliding back from the old position was really intended.

On the morning of the 26th December, Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde, Arobindo Ghose and others went to Babu Surendranath Banerjee at his residence. They were accompanied by Babu Motilal Ghose of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* who had arrived the previous night. Mr. Tilak then informed Babu Surendranath that the Nationalist opposition to the election of the President would be withdrawn, if (1) the Nationalist party were assured that the *status quo* would not be disturbed, and (2) if some graceful allusion was made, by any one of the speakers, on the resolution about the election of the President, to the desire of the public to have Lala Lajpat Rai in the chair. Mr. Banerjee agreed to the latter proposal as he said he was himself to second the resolution; while as regards the first, though he gave an assurance for himself and Bengal, he asked Mr. Tilak to see Mr. Gokhale or Mr. Malvi. A volunteer was accordingly sent in a carriage to invite Mr. Malvi, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, to Mr. Banerjee's residence, but the volunteer brought a reply that Mr. Malvi had no time to come as he was engaged in religious practices. Mr. Tilak then returned to his camp to take his meals as it was already about 11 A.M.; but on returning to the Congress pandal an hour later, he made persistent attempts to get access to Mr. Malvi but could not find him anywhere. A little before 2-30 P.M. a word was brought to Mr. Tilak that Mr. Malvi was in the President's tent, and Mr. Tilak sent a message to him from an adjoining tent, asking for a short interview to which Mr. Malvi replied that he could not see Mr. Tilak as the Presidential procession was being formed. The Nationalist Delegates were waiting in the pandal to hear the result of the endeavours of their Committee to obtain an assurance about the maintenance of the *status quo* from some responsible Congress official, and Mr. V. S. Khare of Nasik now informed them of the failure of Mr. Tilak's attempt in the matter.

FIRST DAY.

It has become necessary to state these facts in order that the position of the two parties when the Congress commenced its proceedings on Thursday, the 26th December, at 2-30 P.M. may be clearly understood. The President-elect and other persons had now taken their seats on the platform; and as no assurance from any responsible official of the Congress about the maintenance of the *status quo* was till then obtained, Mr. Tilak sent a slip to Babu Surendranath intimating that he should not make the proposed allusion to the controversy about the presidential election in his speech. He also wrote to Mr. Malvi to supply him with a copy of the draft resolutions, if ready, and at about 3 P.M. while Mr. Malvi was reading his speech, Mr. Tilak got a copy of the draft resolutions which, he subsequently found, were published the very evening in the *Advocate of India* in Bombay, clearly showing that the reporter of the paper must have been supplied with a copy at least a day earlier. The withholding of a copy from Mr. Tilak till 3 P.M. that day cannot, therefore, be regarded as accidental.

There were about thirteen hundred and odd delegates at this time in the pandal of whom over 600 were nationalists, and the Moderate majority was thus a bare majority. After the Chairman's address was over, Dewan

Bahadur Ambalal Sakarlal proposed Dr. R. B. Ghose to the chair in a speech which, though evoking occasional cries of dissent, was heard to the end. The declaration by the Dewan Bahadur as well as by Mr. Malvi that the proposing and seconding of the resolution to elect the President was only a *formal* business, led many delegates to believe that it was not improbable that the usual procedure of taking votes on the proposition might be dispensed with; and when Babu Surendranath Banerji, whose rising on the platform seems to have reminded some of the delegates of the Midnapur incident, commenced his speech, there was persistent shouting and he was asked to sit down. He made another attempt to speak but was not heard, and the session had, therefore, to be suspended for the day. The official press-note suggests that this hostile demonstration was pre-arranged. But the suggestion is unfounded. For though the Nationalists did intend to oppose the election, they had at their Conference, held the previous day, expressly decided to do so only by solidly and silently voting against it in a constitutional manner.

In the evening the Nationalists again held their Conference and authorised their Committee, appointed on the previous day, to further carry on the negotiations for having the *status quo* maintained if possible, failing which it was decided to oppose the election of Dr. Ghose by moving such amendment as the Committee might decide on by simply voting against his election. The Nationalists were further requested, and unanimously agreed, not only to abstain from joining in any such demonstration as led to the suspension of that day's proceedings, but to scrupulously avoid any, even the least, interruption of the speakers on the opposite side, so that both parties might get a patient hearing. At night (about 8 P.M.) Mr. Chuni Lal Saraya, Manager of the Indian Specie Bank and Vice-Chairman of the Surat Reception Committee, accompanied by two other gentlemen, went, in his un-official capacity and on his own account, to Mr. Tilak and proposed that he intended to arrange for a meeting that night between Mr. Tilak and Mr. Gokhale at the residence of a leading Congressman to settle the differences between the two parties. Mr. Tilak agreed and requested Mr. Chuni Lal, if an interview could be arranged, to fix the time in consultation with Mr. Gokhale, adding that he, Mr. Tilak, would be glad to be present at the place of the interview at *any* hour of the night. Thereon Mr. Chuni Lal left Mr. Tilak, but unhappily no word was received by the latter that night.

SECOND DAY.

On the morning of Friday the 27th (11 A.M.), Mr. Chunilal Saraya again saw Mr. Tilak and requested him to go in company with Mr. Khaparde to Prof. Gajjar's bungalow near the Congress Pandal, where, by appointment, they were to meet Dr. Rutherford, who was trying for a reconciliation. Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde went to Prof. Gajjar's, but Dr. Rutherford could not come then owing to his other engagements. Prof. Gajjar then asked Mr. Tilak what the latter intended to do; and Mr. Tilak stated that if no settlement was arrived at privately owing to every leading Congressman being unwilling to take any responsibility in the matter upon himself, he (Mr. Tilak) would be obliged to bring an amendment to the proposition of electing the President after it had been

seconded. The amendment would be to the effect that the business of election should be adjourned, and a Committee, consisting of one leading Moderate and one leading Nationalist from each Congress Province, with Dr. Rutherford's name added, be appointed to consider and settle the differences between the two parties, both of which should accept the Committee's decision as final and then proceed to *unanimous* election of the President. Mr. Tilak even supplied to Prof. Gajjar the names of the Delegates, who, in his opinion, should form the Committee, but left a free hand to the Moderates to change the names of their representatives if they liked to do so.* Prof. Gajjar and Mr. Chunilal undertook to convey the proposal to Sir P. M. Mehta or Dr. Rutherford in the Congress Camp and asked Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde, to go to the pandal and there await reply. After half an hour Prof. Gajjar and Mr. Saraya returned and told Messrs. Tilak and Khaparde that nothing could be done in the matter, Mr. Saraya adding that if both parties proceeded constitutionally there would be no hitch.

It was about 12-30 at this time, and on the receipt of the above reply Mr. Tilak wrote in pencil the following note to Mr. Malvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee:—

Sir,—I wish to address the delegates on the proposal of the election of the President after it is seconded. I wish to move an adjournment with a constructive proposal. Please announce me.

Yours Sincerely,

B. G. TILAK,

Deccan Delegate (Poona).

This note, it is admitted, was put by a volunteer into the hands of Mr. Malvi, the Chairman, as he was entering the pandal with the President-elect in procession.

The proceedings of the day commenced at 1 P.M. when Babu Surendranath Banerji was called upon to resume his speech, seconding the election of the President. Mr. Tilak was expecting a reply to his note but not having received one up to this time asked Mr. N. C. Kelkar to send a reminder. Mr. Kelkar thereupon sent a hint to the Chairman to the effect that "Mr. Tilak requests a reply to his note." But

* The names given to Prof. Gajjar were as follows:—United Bengal—Babu Surendranath or A. Chaudhari, Ambikacharan Mujumdar, Arbindo Ghose, Ashwinikumar Dutt; United Provinces—Pandit Madan Mohan, Jatindranath Sen; Punjab—Lala Harkisenlal, Dr. H. Mukerji; Central Provinces—Raoji Govind, Dr. Munje; Berars—R. N. Mudholkar, Khaparde; Bombay—Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, B. G. Tilak; Madras—V. Krishnaswami Iyer, Chidambaram Pillai; Dr. Rutherford. This Committee was to meet immediately and decide on the question in issue. The names of the Nationalist representatives in the above list, except Mr. A. K. Dutt, were those of the members of the Committee appointed at the Nationalist Conference on the previous day.

no reply was received even after this reminder, and Mr. Tilak, who, though he was allotted a seat on the platform, was sitting in the front row of the Delegate's seats near the platform-steps, rose to go up the platform *immediately* after Babu Surendranath, who was calmly heard by all, had finished his speech. But he was held back by a volunteer in the way. Mr. Tilak, however, asserted his right to go up and pushing aside the volunteer succeeded in getting to the platform just when Dr. Ghose was moving to take the President's chair. The Official Note says that by the time Mr. Tilak came upon the platform and stood in front of the President, the motion of the election of Dr. Ghose had been passed by an overwhelming majority; and Dr. Ghose, being installed in the Presidential chair by loud and *prolonged* applause, had risen to begin his address. All this, if it did take place, as alleged, could only have been done in a deliberately hurried manner with a set purpose to trick Mr. Tilak out of his right to address the Delegates and move an amendment as previously notified. According to the usual procedure Mr. Malvi was bound to announce Mr. Tilak, or if he considered the amendment out of order, declare it so publicly, and to ask for a show of hands in favour of or against the motion. But nothing of the kind was done; nor was the interval of a few seconds sufficient for a prolonged applause as alleged. As Mr. Tilak stood up on the platform he was greeted with shouts of disapproval from the Members of the Reception Committee, on the platform, and the cry was taken up by other Moderates. Mr. Tilak repeatedly insisted upon his right of addressing the Delegates, and told Dr. Ghose, when he attempted to interfere, that he was not properly elected. Mr. Malvi said that he had ruled Mr. Tilak's amendment out of order, to which Mr. Tilak replied that the ruling, if any, was wrong and Mr. Tilak had a right to appeal to the Delegates on the same. By this time there was a general uproar in the pandal, the Moderates shouting at Mr. Tilak and asking him to sit down and the Nationalists demanding that he should be heard. At this stage Dr. Ghose and Mr. Malvi said that Mr. Tilak should be removed from the platform; and a young gentleman, holding the important office of a Secretary to the Reception Committee, touched Mr. Tilak's person with a view to carry out the Chairman's order. Mr. Tilak pushed the gentleman aside and again asserted his right of being heard, declaring that he would not leave the platform unless bodily removed. Mr. Gokhale seems to have here asked the above-mentioned gentleman not to touch Mr. Tilak's person. But there were others who were seen threatening an assault on his person, though he was calmly standing on the platform facing the Delegates with his arms folded over his chest.

It was during this confusion that a shoe hurled on to the platform hit Sir P. M. Mehta on the side of the face after touching Babu Surendranath Bannerji, both of whom were sitting within a yard of Mr. Tilak on the other side of the table. Chairs were now seen being lifted to be thrown at Mr. Tilak by persons on and below the platform, and some of the Nationalists, therefore, rushed on to the platform to his rescue. Dr. Ghose in the meanwhile twice attempted to read his address, but was stopped by cries of "no, no," from all sides in the pandal, and the confusion became still worse. It must

be stated that the Surat Reception Committee, composed of Moderates, had made arrangements the previous night to dismiss the Nationalist Volunteers and to hire *Bohras* or Mahomedan goondas for the day. These with lathis were stationed at various places in the pandal and their presence was detected and protested against by the Nationalist Delegates before the commencement of the Congress proceedings of the day. But though one or two were removed from the pandal, the rest who remained therein, now took part in the scuffle on behalf of their masters. It was found impossible to arrest the progress of disorder and proceedings were then suspended *sine die*; and the Congress officials retired in confusion to a tent behind the pandal. The police, who seem to have been long ready under a requisition, now entered into and eventually cleared the pandal; while the Nationalist Delegates who had gone to the platform safely escorted Mr. Tilak to an adjoining tent. It remains to be mentioned that copies of an inflammatory leaflet in Gujrathi asking the Gujrathi people to rise against Mr. Tilak were largely distributed in the pandal before the commencement of the day's proceedings.

It would be seen from the above account that the statement in the official note to the effect that Dr. Ghose was elected President amid loud and prolonged applause before Mr. Tilak appeared on the platform, and that Mr. Tilak wanted to move an adjournment of the whole Congress are entirely misleading and unfounded. What he demanded, by way of amendment, was an adjournment of the business of the election of the President in order to have the differences settled by a joint Conciliatory Committee of leading Delegates from both sides. Whether this was in order or otherwise, Mr. Tilak had, certainly a right to appeal to the Delegates and it was this consciousness that led Mr. Malvi and his advisers to hastily wind up the election business without sending a reply to Mr. Tilak or calling upon him to address the delegates. It was a trick by which they intended to deprive Mr. Tilak of the right of moving an amendment and addressing the Delegates thereon. As for the beginning of the actual rowdiness on the day some of the members of the Reception Committee itself were responsible. The silent hearing given by the Nationalists to Mr. Surendranath, on the one hand, and the circulation of the inflammatory leaflet and the hiring of the goondas on the other, further prove that if there was any pre-arrangement anywhere for the purpose of creating a row in the pandal, it was on the part of the Moderates themselves. Put for their rowdiness there was every likelihood of Mr. Tilak's amendment being carried by a large majority and the election of President afterwards taking place smoothly and unanimously. But neither Dr. Ghose nor any other Congress officials seemed willing to tactfully manage the business as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji did last year.

Dr. Ghose's speech though undelivered in the Congress pandal had been by this time published in the Calcutta papers, and telegrams from Calcutta received in the evening showed that he had made an offensive attack on the Nationalist party therein. This added to the sensation in the Nationalist camp that evening, but the situation was not such as to preclude all hope of reconciliation. Srijut Motilal Ghose of the *Patrika*, Mr. A. C. Moitra of Rajshahi, Mr. B. C. Chatterji of Calcutta and Lala

Harkisen Lal from Lahore, accordingly tried their best to bring about a compromise, and, if possible, to have the Congress session revived the next day. They went to Mr. Tilak on the night of 27th and the morning of 28th to ascertain the views of his party, and to each of them Mr. Tilak gave the following assurance in writing : -

Surat, 28th December, 1907.

"Dear Sir,—With reference to our conversation, and principally in the best interests of the Congress, I and my party are prepared to waive our opposition to the election of Dr. Rash Behari Ghose as President of 23rd Indian National Congress, and are prepared to act in the spirit of forget and forgive, provided, *firstly*, the last year's resolutions on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and National Education are adhered to and each expressly reaffirmed, and *secondly*, such passages, if any, in Dr. Ghose's speech as may be offensive to the Nationalists Party are omitted."

Yours &c., B. G. TILAK.

This letter was taken by the gentlemen to whom it was addressed to the Moderate leaders but no compromise was arrived at as the Moderates were all along bent upon the retrogression of the Congress at any cost. A Convention of the Moderates was, therefore, held in the pandal the next day where Nationalists were not allowed to go even when some of them were ready and offered to sign the declaration required. On the other hand those who did not wish to go back from the position taken up at the Calcutta Congress and honestly desired to work further on the same lines met in a separate place the same evening to consider what steps might be taken to continue the work of the Congress in future. Thus ended the proceedings of the 23rd Indian National Congress; and we leave it to the public to judge of the conduct of the two parties in this affair from the statement of facts hereinbefore given.

B. G. TILAK.
G. S. KHAPARDE.
ARABINDO GHOSE.
H. MUKERJEE.
B. C. CHATTERJEE.

SURAT,

31st December, 1907.

APPENDIX TO THE EXTERMISTS' VERSION :

HOW THEY WANTED TO BACK

THE CONGRESS IDEAL.

At the Calcutta Congress, under the presidentship of Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee, it was resolved that the goal of Congress should be Swaraj on the lines of Self-governing British Colonies, and this goal was accepted by all, Moderates and Nationalists, without a single dissentient voice. The resolution on Self-Government passed there is as follows :—

The Congress Reception Committee at Surat did not publish the draft Resolution till the commencement of the Congress sessions; but a draft Constitution of the Congress, prepared by the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, was published a day two or earlier. In this draft the goal of the Congress was defined as follows :—

"Self-Government:—This Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the Self-Governing British Colonies should be extended to India and that as steps leading to it, urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out." (Here followed certain administrative reforms such as simultaneous examinations in England and India, reform of Executive and Legislative Council, and of Local and Municipal Boards.)

"The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire and a participation by her in the privileges and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with the other members; and it seeks to advance towards this goal by strictly constitutional means, by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and improving the condition of the mass of the people."

"Those who accept the foregoing creed of the Congress, shall be members of the Provincial Committee."

"All who accept the foregoing creed of the Congress . . . shall be entitled to become members of a District Congress Committee."

"From the year 1908, delegates to the Congress shall be elected by Provincial and District Congress Committees only."

Remarks.—It will at once be seen that the new Constitution intended to convert the Congress from a national into a sectional movement. The goal of Swaraj on the lines of self-governing colonies, as settled last year, was to be given up; and in its stead Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members (not necessarily self-governing) of the British Empire, was to be set up as the *ultimate* goal, evidently meaning, that it was to be considered as out of the pale of practical politics. The same view is expressed by Sir Pherozshah Mehta in his interview with the correspondent of the *Times of India*, published in the issue of the *Times* dated 30th December, 1907. The Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale must have taken his cue from the same source. The *reform* of the existing system of administration, and not its gradual replacement by a popular system, was to be the immediate object of the Congress according to this constitution; and further no one, who did not accept this new creed, was to be a member of Provincial or District Committees, or possibly even a delegate to the Congress after 1908. This was the chief feature of retrogression, which Sir P. M. Mehta and his party wanted to carry out this year at a safe place like Surat. It is true that the old resolution on Self-Government was subsequently included in the draft Resolutions published only after the commencement of the Congress Session. But the draft Constitution was never withdrawn.

SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

The Calcutta Resolution on the Swadeshi Movement was as follows:—

The Congress accords its most cordial support to the *Swadeshi* Movement and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by making earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries, and to stimulate the production of indigenous articles by giving them preference over imported commodities even at some sacrifice.

Remarks:—Last year the words "even at some sacrifice" were introduced at the end after great discussion and as a compromise between the two parties. The Hon. Mr. Gokhale or Sir P. M. Mehta now wanted to have these words expunged, converting the old resolution into a mere appeal for preference for the indigenous over imported goods.

At Surat, the draft resolution on the subject was worded as follows:—

This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi Movement, and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and stimulate the consumption of indigenous articles by giving them preference, where possible over imported commodities.

BOYCOTT MOVEMENT.

The Calcutta Resolution was as follows:—

Having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representations to Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott Movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against partition of that province was and is legitimate.

The proposed resolution at Surat was:—

Having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representatives to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the boycott of foreign goods resorted to in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that Province was and is legitimate.

Remarks:—This subject was not included in the list of subjects published at first but seems to have been subsequently inserted in the draft Resolutions, when the first omission, in the list was severely noticed in the press.

The words *Boycott Movement* in the old resolution have, however, been changed into *Boycott of foreign goods*.

NATIONAL EDUCATION

The Calcutta Resolution was as follows:—

In the opinion of this Congress much has arrived for the people all

The proposed resolution at Surat runs thus:—

In the opinion of this Congress much has arrived for the people all

over the country earnestly to take up the question of National Education for both boys and girls and organize a system of Education, Literary, Scientific, Technical—suited to the requirements of the country on National lines and under National control.

over the country earnestly to take up the question of National Education for both boys and girls and organise an independent system of education, Literary, Scientific, Technical—suited to the requirements of the country.

Remarks:—The change is significant inasmuch as the word “on National lines and under National control” are omitted in the Surat draft, for “control” is the most important factor in this matter. The phrase “an independent system” does not convey all that is desired.

K. P. P.

III. THE HON. MR. GOKHALE'S VERSION.

Calcutta, January 8.—The Hon. Mr. Gokhale has addressed the following letter to the papers on the misstatements of the Extremist version concerning himself:—

“The Extremist version of what occurred at Surat, which was under preparation, has at last been published. It is full of gross misstatements, some of which concern me personally, and these, with your permission, I would like to set right in your columns.

THE QUESTION OF THE PRESIDENT'S ELECTION.

1. The version says:—“It was cleverly arranged by the Hon. Mr. Gokhale to get the (Reception) Committee to nominate Dr. R. B. Ghose to the office of President, brushing aside the proposal for the nomination of Lala Lajpat Rai.” Dr. Ghose had been nominated for the office of President by all the Provinces consulted, except Berar. The overwhelming preponderance of opinion in the Reception Committee at Surat was also in his favour. The reason why I attended the meeting of the Reception Committee at which the nomination took place was that rowdiness had been threatened to make its proceedings impossible as at Nagpur unless the proposal of the Extremists to elect Lala Lajpat Rai was accepted. The Reception Committee had barely a month at its disposal for making the required preparations, and any hostility to it on the part of a section, however small, would have meant abandoning the Congress Session at Surat. I went there as Joint General Secretary of the Congress in the interests of harmony, and for the time, my appeal to those who wanted to bring forward Lala Lajpat Rai's name proved effective. The harmony brought about lasted till Mr. Tilak's emissaries from Nagpur repaired to Surat and stirred up trouble about a week after the meeting of the Reception Committee.

A REFUTATION.

2. I am charged with “brushing aside the proposal for the nomination of Lala Lajpat Rai” on the ground that ‘we cannot afford to flout the Government at this stage. The authorities would throttle our movement in no time.’ This unscrupulous distortion of stray sentences from a private conversation, taken apart from their context, has

now been passed to such lengths that it is necessary to put aside the feeling of delicacy that has hitherto restrained me in the matter. The conversation was with two Extremist gentlemen of Surat with whom I discussed the situation at some length prior to the meeting of the Reception Committee on the 24th November. I pointed out to these gentlemen the unwisdom of bringing forward Lala Lajpat Rai's name for the Presidentship of the Congress, and this I did on three grounds.

First, that, with only a month at the disposal of the Reception Committee for making arrangements which, in other places, had taken at least three to four months, any division among the workers at Surat was most undesirable as it was sure to hamper the progress of their work.

Secondly, that there was absolutely no chance of their carrying their proposal about Lala Lajpat Rai, their strength being only five or six out of about two hundred who were expected to attend that afternoon meeting, and that the rejection of Mr. Lala Lajpat Rai's name would only be a painful and wanton humiliation for him, and

Thirdly and lastly, that though Lala Lajpat Rai had been personally restored to freedom, the larger question of principle involved in his deportation had yet to be fought out, and it would best be fought out by keeping up the feeling of the country united and intact behind him, and that this feeling was sure to be divided if one section of the Congress tried to run him as a party candidate. I next pointed out that there were other ways in which we could all honour Mr. Lajpat Rai, and then I added 'if your object is simply to flout the Government, I can understand your proposal.' To this one of the gentlemen said 'Yes, even if we do nothing else, we want to show that we are prepared to flout the Government.' I thereupon said 'I don't believe in such flouting. The Congress must, of course, express condemnation of Government measures when necessary, but it has other important work to do. We cannot do without the help and co-operation of Government in many matters at our present stage.'

The conversation then turned to what our goal should be, and what the Congress should try to do. And the gentlemen in question, a young man who has only recently returned from England, urged on me his view that the Congress should work for absolute independence, and that it should try to teach people of the country to hate the present foreign Government as much as possible. It was in reply to this that I said 'you do not realise the enormous reserve of power behind the Government. If the Congress were to do anything such as you suggest, the Government will have no difficulty in throttling it in five minutes.' It is out of this conversation that the story which has been kept going for some time past with a hundred variations has been concocted. There were about twenty people present when the above conversation took place.

DRAFTING THE RESOLUTIONS.

3. "The Hon. Mr. Gokhale was entrusted by the Reception Committee at its meeting held on the 24th November 1907, for nominating the President with the work of drafting the Resolutions before the Congress."

This is not correct. No Resolution whatever was passed in the matter at the meeting of the Reception Committee. About the beginning of December, when I went to Bombay from Poona, I was informed by one of the Secretaries of the Reception Committee, Mr. Manubhai Nanabhai, that the Working Committee had decided to ask me to undertake the drafting of the Resolutions to be laid before the Subjects Committee. I was at that time rushed with other work, and so I suggested that the draft should, in the first instance, be prepared by either Mr. Manubhai himself or by his colleague, Mr. Ghandhi, and that I would then touch them up if required. Mr. Ghandhi wrote back at once to say that that he could not undertake the work as he had no time. Mr. Manubhai began to collect the material necessary for drafting the Resolutions, but he was so terribly overworked that he too could not give any time to the actual work of preparing the drafts, and at last about the 15th December, he told me that I should have to do the whole work in that respect myself.

THE DELAY IN DRAFTING AND PRINTING.

4. "Neither Mr. Gokhale nor the Reception Committee supplied a copy of the draft Resolution to any delegate till 2:30 P.M. on Thursday, the 26th December." This was due to the fact that printed copies were not till then available. On the 5th December, I settled the headings of the Resolutions in Bombay but I could get no quiet there for the work of drafting, and so I went to Poona on the 19th December to prepare the drafts. It was by no means easy work. The Resolution that gave the greatest trouble was about the proposed reforms. I wrested with it as well as I could in Poona, but I could not produce a satisfactory draft when I arrived in Surat on the morning of the 24th. The draft Resolution on the proposed reforms was still not ready. I then gave the other drafts to Mr. Ghandhi, Secretary of the Reception Committee, in charge of this work, who immediately sent them to the press.

For the the draft on the Reform proposals I asked for a day more. There were, however, a thousand things to distract one's attention, and though I gave to the draft all the time I could spare on the 24th and the morning of the 25th, I was not able to finish it. So, with much regret, I asked Mr. Ghandhi to get the other drafts printed leaving a blank in the place of the resolution on Reform proposals. Now Surat is a small place and its printing resources are not equal to those of Calcutta, Bombay or Madras, and the press took a day to give printed copies of the drafts to Mr. Ghandhi. It was only when I went to the pandal at 2:30 P.M. on the 26th that I learnt from Mr. Ghandhi that copies had arrived from the press, and the first printed copy I myself procured from Mr. Ghandhi to pass on to Mr. Tilak who had just then asked Mr. Malvi for a copy. The copies were available in good time for the deliberations of the Subjects Committee which, in the usual course, was expected to sit that afternoon, for whose use alone the drafts have always been prepared.

Three things, must here be noted. First, though the draft Resolution has been, in previous years, been published beforehand, whenever there has been time to do so, it is not true that they have always been so published. Last year for instance, at Calcutta, some of the draft Resolutions were not ready till the last minute, and this, in spite of the fact that our Calcutta

friends had much more time at their disposal than the one month in which Surat has to make its preparations.

Secondly, never before in the history of the Congress was an attempt made as at Surat, to attach an absurdly exaggerated importance to the draft Resolutions. Every one knows that these drafts bind nobody, and that they are merely material laid before the Subjects Committee for it to work upon. I don't remember a single Congress at which the Subjects Committee did not make important and sometimes even wholesale alterations in the drafts placed before it by the Reception Committee. The final form in which Resolutions have been submitted to the Congress has always been determined by the Subjects Committee and the Subjects Committee alone.

Thirdly, No Reception Committee has ever in the past merely reproduced the Resolutions of the previous Congress on its agenda paper for the Subjects Committee. The Calcutta Reception Committee of last year did not merely reproduce the Benares Resolutions, neither did the Benares Committee reproduce the Bombay Resolutions. Every Reception Committee has exercised its own judgment as to the wording of the draft Resolutions, and the Surat Committee, or those who were working for it were merely following the established practice when they prepared their own drafts.

THE "ADVOCATE OF INDIA" AFFAIR.

5. "While Mr. Malvi was reading his speech, Mr. Tilak got a copy of the draft Resolutions, which he subsequently found were published the very evening in the *Advocate of India* in Bombay, clearly showing that the reporter of the paper must have been supplied with a copy at least a day earlier." The reporter must have procured a copy from Mr. Ghandhi as soon as copies arrived from the press and must have wired the Resolutions to his paper, or it is possible that he may have obtained a proof from the press before copies were printed. Certainly, no printed copies were available to me till I went to the pandal on the 26th. I wanted to give a copy to Lala Lajpat Rai that morning, but could not do so as no copies had arrived from the press till then.

I now come to the wording of the draft Resolutions.

Sir, coming to the wording of the draft resolutions, I would like to point out at the outset that the cry set up by Mr. Tilak in connection with these drafts was his third attempt to discredit the Surat Congress since the middle of November.

He began by denouncing the change of venue from Nagpur to Surat and by misrepresenting, beyond all recognition, the proceedings of the All-India Congress Committee which decided upon the change and this without even the excuse of ignorance, since he was personally present at the meeting of the Committee and knew exactly what had taken place.

When he found that he could not make much impression on the country by these attacks, he played his second card. He started his agitation to have the election of Dr. Ghose set aside in favour of Lala Lajpat Rai. In this, however, he was foiled by Lala Lajpat Rai's own letter which put an effective extinguisher on the agitation.

Then the cry was raised that it was the intention of the Reception Committee to drop certain resolutions altogether this year. The ball was set rolling by a telegram from Poona to certain Madras and Calcutta Papers about a week before this meeting of the Congress that the Reception Committee had made up its mind to omit certain resolutions from its agenda paper and that there was intense indignation in the "Nationalist circles" in consequence. This manufacture of "Nationalist indignation" was pushed forward so energetically that, when I went to Bombay on the 22nd December, I found a considerable amount of feeling stirred up in certain quarters against the Reception Committee on this account. On that day I met Lala Lajpat Rai and he asked me what the truth was about the resolutions in question. I told him that the resolutions were all there with slight verbal alterations made in one or two of them to remove ambiguity and that the Subjects Committee would decide in what form they should finally be submitted to the Congress. I understand that Lala Lajpat Rai communicated the substance of this conversation that same evening to Mr. Tilak. In spite of this communication, Mr. Tilak definitely and deliberately stated at the Extremists' Conference at Surat, on the 24th December, that the Reception Committee had decided to omit the resolutions and this naturally caused great excitement among the delegates assembled. Mr. Chundhri, the local Secretary in charge of the resolutions, came to know of this in the evening and he immediately issued a Press Note contradicting Mr. Tilak's statements as wholly unfounded.

But the cry was kept up the whole of the next day *i. e.*, the 25th. On that day, in the afternoon, Lala Lajpat Rai, who was going to visit the Extremist Camp, asked me if he might personally assure the leaders on that side that they were under a misapprehension about the resolutions and that they would find them all on the agenda paper when it arrived from the press. I readily agreed and Lala Lajpat Rai went and gave the assurance that same evening. I addressed about 200 delegates in the Madras tent of the Congress camp, especially for the purpose of removing the misapprehension and there I not only assured them that the resolutions were all on the agenda paper, but also mentioned the exact verbal alterations that had been made. About 11 P.M. that night I met Babu Ashwani Kumar Dutt of Barisal, at the President's residence and I repeated to him what I had told the Madras delegates and he expressed himself satisfied. The next day, *i. e.*, on the 26th, on going to the pandal, as soon as I heard of the copies having arrived from the press, I procured and gave one to Mr. Tilak, as I have mentioned in my last letter. The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was sitting by Mr. Tilak at the time and I heard it afterwards from him that he asked Mr. Tilak if he was satisfied that the resolutions were all there and Mr. Tilak had to admit that it was so. Only the slight verbal alterations that had been made would have to be amended. And now as regards the wording of the four resolutions.

(a) Taking Self-Government first, the Extremist version says at the Calcutta Congress, under the Presidentship of Mr. Dadhabhai Naoroji, it was resolved that the goal of the Congress should be *Swaraj* on the lines of Self-Governing British colonies. This is not accurate. The

word *Svaraj* was not used in any of the resolutions of the Congress last year though it was used by Mr. Dadhabhai in his own speech. Neither was there any mention of goal in any of last year's resolutions. What had been done last year was to prefix a preamble about Self-Government to certain specific proposals for reform and the preamble was in these words:— "This Congress is of opinion that the system of government obtaining in the Self-Governing colonies should be extended to India and that, as steps leading to it, it urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out." Now a reference to this year's draft resolutions will show that the whole of this resolution, preamble and all, was reproduced by the Reception Committee on the agenda paper with only a slight alteration in one of the clauses, rendered necessary by the appointment of two Indians to the Secretary of State's Council. Mr. Tilak, however, compares last year's resolution on Self-Government, not with this year's draft resolution on the same subject, but with the preamble to another draft resolution, that of the constitution of the Congress and he charges the Reception Committee with a direct attempt to tamper with the ideal of Self-Government on the lines of Self-Governing colonies, as settled at Calcutta. Now the portion of the preamble to the proposed constitution referring to Self-Government was as follows: "The Indian National Congress has, for its ultimate goal, the attainment, by India, of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members of the British Empire and a participation by her in the privileges and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with the other members. "This is interpreted by Mr. Tilak as meaning that" the goal of *Svaraj* on the lines of Self-Governing colonies, as settled last year, was to be given up and in its stead Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by other members (not necessarily self-governing) of the British Empire was to be set up as the ultimate goal. I should have thought it incredible that any one with any pretension to acknowledge of practical politics could put such an atrocious misconstruction on the preamble of the draft constitution, but for the fact that Mr. Tilak has actually done it.

Whoever talks of the form of Government obtaining in the Crown colonies or Dependencies of the British Empire as Self-Government? Whoever talks of their participating in the privileges of the Empire? However, as soon as Mr. Tilak's construction was brought to my notice, I at once altered the expression, "Self-Government enjoyed by other members of the British Empire", to "Self-Government enjoyed by the Self-Governing members of the British Empire", so as to leave no room for his ludicrous objection and it will be seen that the Convention afterwards used this wording for its creed. In this connection, I would like to observe that it is most curious that Mr. Tilak should charge me with a desire to abandon the idea of Self-Government, as in the British colonies, being the goal of our aspirations. Ever since I began to take an active interest in the national affairs this has been a part of my political faith. In the prospectus of the Servants of India Society which was started in June 1905, I have mentioned the goal in clear and explicit terms. "Self-Government on the lines of English colonies," the pros-

pectus says "is our goal." From the presidential chair of the Congress at Benares in December 1905 I declared the same thing. "The goal of the Congress," I then stated "is that India should be governed in the interests of the Indians themselves and that, in course of time, a form of Government should be attained in this country similar to what exists in the Self-Governing colonies of the British Empire." In 1906, in a Paper read before the East India Association in London, on 'Self Government for India' I elaborated the same idea. On the other hand. Mr. Tilak has not always known his own mind in this matter. After the Benares Congress. Mr. Shyamji Krishna-varma denounced me in his *Indian Sociologist* for my idea of Self-Government on colonial lines and later on Mr. Tilak following. Mr. Shyamji's lead joined in that denunciation in his *Kesari*. Last year, however, Mr. Tilak veered round to the position that the goal of our political work was of equality for the Englishman and Indian in the British Empire, but this year again at the Extremists' Conference he coquetted with the views of the Bengal School of Extremist politicians and yet it is Mr. Tilak who attributed to me a desire to alter the resolution of last year on this subject.

(b) As regards *Swadeshi*, there never was the least intention to alter a single word in last year's resolution and it was by a mere accident that the words, "even at some sacrifice," happened to be left out in the Reception Committee's Draft. It happened this way. The report of the Calcutta Congress was not out when the draft resolutions were prepared. So for the text of last year's resolutions I had to rely on a newspaper file. Now, the only file I had with me containing those resolutions was of the journal the *India* which had published all the resolutions of last year, in its issue of 1st February 1907. As no change of even a word was contemplated in the resolution on *Swadeshi*, I had got one of my assistants merely to copy it from the *India* and include it among the drafts. Unfortunately the text as published in the *India* was defective and did not contain the words, 'even at some sacrifice as a reference to the issue of that journal of 1st February, 1907, will show.

And the omission, perfectly unintentional, remained unnoticed till the meeting of the informal Conference which followed the Convention when the words which had been left out were at once restored. It is unnecessary to say that they would have been similarly restored, if the Agenda paper had gone as usual to the Subjects Committee for consideration.

(c) In the resolution on *Boycott*, the only verbal alteration made was to substitute the words "the boycott of foreign goods resorted to in Bengal" for the words "the boycott movement inaugurated in Bengal" and the resolution was placed under the *Partition* as the *Boycott* approved was "by way of protest against the Partition." The change in the wording had been rendered necessary by the unfair and unjustifiable attempt made by an Extremist leader from the Congress platform last year and by Mr. Tilak and others in the Press, throughout the year, to construe the phraseology employed last year as approving a universal *Boycott* of all forms of association with the Government.

(d) In regard to National Education, the slight alteration made was only with the object of improving the phraseology without altering the meaning in any way. It must be mentioned here that the wording adopted last year on this subject had not been considered in the Subjects Committee, there being no time for doing so. In last year's resolution, the word National appeared three times, National Education, on National Lines and under National Control. It appeared to me that the words, 'System of National Education suited to the requirements of the country' and 'Independent of Government' really expressed all that had to be expressed and that this phraseology was more restrained and more in accord with what was being actually attempted in different parts of India. It will thus be seen that, in drawing up its draft resolutions on the four subjects, the Surat Committee had not intended or attempted any alteration in meaning, though verbal changes had been made here and there to remove ambiguity or to improve the phraseology. I have already pointed out that, in making such changes, it was only following the practice of previous years. Moreover, as I have stated in my last letter, these were only drafts that bound nobody and the Subjects Committee would have determined the final form in which they were to be submitted to the Congress. All the storm raised in connection with them was really more to discredit the Surat Committee than for furthering any national interests, real or fancied.

The Extremist statement speaks of certain attempts made by certain gentlemen to arrange a compromise and it mentions three gentlemen as having undertaken to speak to me, Lala Lajpat Rai, Babu Surendra Nath Bannerjee and Mr. Chunilal D. Suraya. Of these, Mr. Chunilal never saw me in any such connection. Lala Lajpat Rai had a brief talk with me. It was on the 25th December, in the evening, at the Railway Station when we had gone there to receive the President, about a proposal made by Mr. Tilak that five men on his side and five men on the other should meet together and settle the wording of the resolutions. I pointed out to Mr. Lajpat Rai that it was the business of the Subjects Committee to settle the wording and that a committee such as Mr. Tilak suggested had never been appointed before. Moreover it was easy for Mr. Tilak, whose followers were meeting in a Conference day after day, to nominate five men to represent his side. But amidst the excitement and bitterness of feeling then prevailing, what five men, I asked, could claim the authority or undertake the responsibility to act in the name of the other delegates and I said to him, "let the Subjects Committee meet to-morrow and let us see if any differences remain to be adjusted. And, if any remain, you can make this proposal to the Subjects Committee. Lala Lajpat Rai saw the force of this and did not press the suggestion further. M. Surendranath Banerjee mentioned to me on the opening day of the Congress, just a few minutes before we went to the *Pandal*, that he had had a conversation that morning with Mr. Tilak and that Mr. Tilak had said to him that if he (Mr. Banerjee) and myself guaranteed the passing of the four resolutions in the same form as last year, there would be no trouble in connection with the President's election. I pointed out to Mr. Banerjee how Mr. Tilak had shifted his ground, how, till the previous evening, the cry

was for an assurance that the four resolutions would be on the agenda paper and how he now demanded a guarantee that they would be passed in the same form as last year and I said, "it is outrageous that Mr. Tilak should make such a demand and, threaten now with trouble. How can any individual member with any sense of responsibility guarantee what would be done by the Subjects Committee not yet appointed or by a Congress of sixteen hundred delegates? These men denounce us in one breath for autocracy and, in the next, they ask us, to take upon ourselves such an impossible responsibility." The conversation then ended. Before passing away from this point, I would like to contradict here in the most emphatic manner possible, the report to which such wide currency has been given, that Mr. Tilak tried three times at Surat to see me and that every time I declined to see him. There is not a word of truth in this report. Mr. Tilak never came or gave me to understand directly or indirectly that he wanted to meet me at Surat. He never wrote to me or sent me word with any one to express such a desire. He never came to my place and, to my knowledge, he never tried to meet me anywhere else.

Only one matter on the Extremists' statement concerns me personally. It is the version that it gives of what took place first between Mr. Malvi and Mr. Tilak and then between Dr. Ghose and Mr. Tilak, when Mr. Tilak came to the platform to move the adjournment of the Congress. This version is in direct conflict with the official version issued immediately after the break-up of the Congress, over the signatures of Dr. Ghose, Mr. Malvi, Mr. Wacha, and myself. Now, all the four of us heard every word of the conversation that took place between Mr. Tilak on one side and Mr. Malvi and Dr. Ghose on the other. On the other hand, though the Extremist version is signed by five of the gentlemen, four of the five were not on the platform and could not have heard a syllable of what was said. The conflict between the two versions thus means that the word of us four is against the word of Mr. Tilak and there I am content to let it stand. Here I must close and I would do so with one observation. The Reception Committee of Surat had not departed in a single particular form the established practice of the last twenty-two years. It had made its arrangements for the holding of the Congress and for the comfort of the delegates in the usual way. It had prepared the agenda paper for the Subjects Committee in the usual way. It had selected the President under a special rule adopted by the Congress itself last year. Having made these preparations in the course of a single month, for which cities like Calcutta and Bombay have taken three to four months, having turned its nights into days for the purpose, it waited for the Congress meeting and conducting its deliberations in the usual way. On the other hand, all the innovations were on Mr. Tilak's side. He set up a separate camp of his own followers. He harrangued them daily about the supposed intentions of the Reception Committee and the high-handedness of imaginary bureaucracy in the Congress. He made, from day to day, wild and wreckless statements, some of which, it is difficult to characterise properly in terms of due restraint.

He created a pledge-bound party to vote with him like a machine, whatever the personal views of individual delegates might be. He

demanding guarantees from individual members on the other side, unheard of in the history of the Congress. On the first day some of his followers, by sheer rowdyism, compelled the sitting to be suspended. On the second, when the sitting was resumed, there was no expression of regret forthcoming for the discreditable occurrence of the previous day and though one day out of three had been lost, Mr. Tilak himself came forward to interrupt the proceedings again by a motion of adjournment. Under the mildest construction this was a move of obstruction, pure and simple; for, as long as the rule under which the Reception Committee had elected Dr. Ghose remained unrescinded, there was no possible way to set that election aside on the platform. Mr. Tilak openly and persistently defied the authority of the Chair. Over the painful incident that followed, it is perhaps best now to throw a pall. But, in all this, I do not see where the responsibility of the Reception Committee comes in.

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APPENDIX B.

THE CONVENTION.

After the adjournment of the 23rd Indian National Congress *sine die* under the most painful circumstances on the afternoon of the 27th December, a large number of the leading delegates met the same evening at about 4 p. m. in Sir P. M. Mehta's quarters to consider what steps should be taken to continue the work of the Congress.

At this meeting it was unanimously resolved that a National Convention be held at Surat on the next day (28th Dec.,) and the following notice calling the Convention was issued:

The 23rd Indian National Congress having been suspended *sine die* under painful circumstances the undersigned have resolved with a view to the orderly conduct of future political work in the country to call a Convention of those delegates to the Congress who are agreed:—

(1) That the attainment by India of Self-Government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and participation by her in the rights and responsibilities of the Empire on equal terms with those Members is the goal of our political aspirations.

(2) That the advance towards this goal is to be by strictly constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of existing system of administration and by promoting *National Unity*, fostering public spirit, and improving the condition of the mass of the people.

(3) And that all meetings held for the promotion of the aims and objects above indicated have to be conducted in an orderly manner with due submission to the authority of those that are entrusted with the power to control their procedure and they are requested to attend at 1 P. M. on Saturday the 28th December 1907, in the Pandal lent for the purpose by the Working Committee of the Reception Committee of the 23rd Indian National Congress.

(Signed) Rashbehari Ghose.

Pherozechah M. Mehta.

Surendranath Banerjee.

G. K. Gokhale.

D. E. Wachha.

Narendranath Sen.

Ambalal Sakarlal Desai.

V. Krishnaswami Iyer.

Tribhovandas N. Malvi.

Madan Mohan Malviya.

and many others.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION.

The convention met at the Congress Pandal at 1 P. M. on the 28th December. Over nine hundred delegates subscribed to the terms of the convention and attended it.

Dr. Ghose, accompanied by the Moderate leaders, arrived at 1 P. M. and received a tremendous ovation.

Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, in opening the Convention, said :

I remember that once from the Congress platform I spoke of an unconventional Convention for the purpose of promoting the interests of the country. I did not think then that in process of time we should really have to meet in the form of a Convention for the purpose of resuscitation, if you will, reincarnating if you desire, the work which has gone on for 23 years with the co-operation of all provinces of this country. You were asked to attend here to-day for the purpose of forming, a convention of that character. I think you will all agree with me that we can ask no better person than Dr. Ghose to take the chair on such a memorable occasion and preside over our deliberations. I therefore request him to take the chair.

Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea in seconding said :

We are about to enter upon what may be regarded as a new stage in the development of this great movement. 'The King is dead; long live the King' - congress is dead. (Cries of "no, no.") Only to live long, I am perfectly certain, that with a constitution revised and resuscitated. We now enter upon a stage of usefulness fraught with the most momentous results to the fortunes of this country.

Lala Lajpat Rai who rose to support was received with great demonstrations of sympathy and affection, the gathering responding enthusiastically to a call for three cheers. He said :

While thanking you from the bottom of my heart for the kind reception you have accorded me, I beg to associate myself with the proposal that has just been made. I wish it was not necessary for me to associate myself with the proposal to-day. Had we gone on with the proceedings in a normal manner it would have been unnecessary; but as misfortune will have it that was not destined. To-day we meet. Notwithstanding all our misfortune we are determined to continue our work and thereby give proof to the world that with all our internal quarrels we are all agreed in the service of the country and that under no circumstances are we going to desert the banner under which we have been fighting.

Several others supported the motion which was put and carried unanimously.

Dr. Rash Behari Ghose took the chair and said : -

You are all aware of the painful circumstances under which I was most reluctantly and painfully compelled to suspend the sittings of the Congress yesterday. We are met this afternoon, not in Congress but in Convention, and that Convention consists of delegates who have subscribed to what I may describe as two fundamental articles of our creed.

With the object of formulating a constitution for the Congress, and laying down the lines on which our political agitation should be carried

on it is proposed to form a representative committee who will frame rules for the orderly conduct of our future political work in the country. He then called upon Mr. Gokhale to move the resolution appointing the Committee.

Mr. Gokhale said that the Committee he was to name would draw up a constitution on the lines laid down in the declaration of the creed which all of them had signed.

The Committee he was to propose would consist of over 100 members. It was difficult to say when the Committee would finish its labours. If possible the Committee would meet during Easter. If not in September. The Committee would meet that day for the first time after the dissolution of the convention. Speaking on his own authority he would say that so far as one could see the programme of the body they were trying to bring into existence would for all practical purposes be the same as that of the Congress for which they had worked for 23 years. He then read the names of the Committee which included all leading Congress men from all the Provinces who had signed the articles of creed that day.

Mr. Gokhale formally moved the adoption of all these names for the committee which was also to make arrangements for the first meeting of the body to be brought into existence under the new constitution.

Dewan Bahadur Govindaraghava Iyer seconded the motion and said that he had no doubt the committee would fully justify the confidence reposed in them by drawing up a constitution which would be for the good of the body and last for a good length of time.

Mr. A. Chaudhuri supported it. The motion appointing the committee was carried unanimously.

On the motion of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Messrs. Gokhale and D. E. Wacha were appointed joint secretaries to the committee.

Sir Pherozeshah in moving a cordial vote of thanks to Dr. Ghose exhorted the delegates from all Provinces to prepare well reasoned and carefully drawn memorials in regard to the new reform proposals. Bombay was preparing such a memorial and it was the duty of every Province to send well reasoned representations in support of the views of the country on proposals which attacked educated Indians, especially lawyers, in an absolutely unjustifiable and undeserved manner. All these must be put down in their representations. He also advised that the delegates assembled there might have an informal conference and discuss this and other matters of interest.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.
The Convention was then dissolved by Dr. Ghose.

APPENDIX C.

THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE.

As soon as the convention was dissolved formally, virtually the same body formed themselves into an "All-India Conference." The Hon Babu Surendra Nath Bannerji was unanimously voted to the chair.

The following resolutions (which are virtually the draft resolutions prepared by the Surat Reception Committee) were duly proposed, seconded, supported and carried unanimously :

I. REPRESSIVE MEASURES.

(a) This Conference places on record its deep regret that both the Government of India and the Imperial Government in England permitted themselves during the year to be altogether misled by the cry of seditious unrest and seditious disorder raised in the Punjab and other Provinces by designing or panic-stricken persons who indulge in wild exaggerations and distortions of the character and extent of the prevailing feeling of discontent in those Provinces, and the conference deplores that the Government resorted without proper inquiry to a policy of severe repression, such as the deportation without trial of His Majesty's subjects, the arrest and prosecution of respectable and law-abiding persons on a charge of conspiracy against the crown, the prohibition of public meetings in certain areas, the imposition of punitive police on whole towns and communities and so forth. In the opinion of this Conference these measures were utterly uncalled for and unjustifiable and they have done serious injury to the best interests of both the Government and the people.

(b) This Conference protests most emphatically against the Seditious Meetings Prevention Act, enacted last November at Simla which has evoked a feeling of intense irritation and resentment throughout the country and for which there is no justification in the existing circumstances of India.

II. DEPORTATIONS.

(a) This Conference places on record its severe condemnation of the sudden arrest and deportation in a time of peace and general tranquillity of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajitsing without trial and without giving them any opportunity to establish their innocence under an obsolete enactment intended for different times and for a different class of persons, and wholly incompatible with the established traditions of British rule.

(b) This Conference strongly urges that now that Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajitsing have been restored to liberty, the grounds on which the Government proceeded against them in May last should be published forthwith.

(c) In view of the fact that the Regulation of 1818 and similar regulations put dangerously extensive powers into the hands of an irresponsible Executive and constitute a serious menace to liberty of innocent persons this Conference urges the immediate repeal of the Resolutions.

III. ASIATIC REGISTRATION ACT IN THE TRANSVAAL.

This Conference places on record its deep indignation at the indignities to which the Asiatic Registration Law of the Transvaal subjects the Indian residents of that Colony and it expresses its keen disappointment that His Majesty's Government did not disallow the enactment in spite of the express reservation of such powers in the constitution granted to the Transvaal. The Conference deeply sympathises with the Transvaal Indians in the unequal struggle which they are bravely carrying on to vindicate their self-respect and the honour of their country and it expresses its warm approval of the course they have taken as the only honourable one open to them in the circumstances. This Conference earnestly presses upon the Government of India the urgent necessity of adopting effective measures of retaliation against South Africa in general and the Transvaal in particular.

IV. SELF-GOVERNMENT.

This Conference is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the self-governing British Colonies should also be extended to India and as steps leading to such Self-Government the Conference urges that the following reforms should be immediately carried out:

(a) That all examinations held in England only should be simultaneously held in India and England and that all higher appointments which are made in India should be by competitive examination only with due reservation of safe-guarding the rights of educationally backward classes.

(b) The adequate representation of Indians in the Executive Councils of the Viceroy and the Governors of Madras and Bombay.

(c) The Expansion of the Supreme and Provincial Legislative Councils, allowing a larger and truly effective representation of the people and a larger control over the financial and executive administration of the country.

(d) That local and Municipal Bodies should now be made entirely popular assemblies, that larger resources should be placed at their disposal and their powers and functions enlarged; the Central Government reserving to itself only such powers of control as may be necessary in the interest of efficiency and integrity of administration and as are exercised by the Local Government Board in the United Kingdom.

V. COUNCIL OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

This Conference notes with satisfaction the appointment of two Indians to the Council of the Secretary of State for India, and it urges that for securing to the people the full benefit of this reform, it is necessary that these appointments in future should be made on the recommendation of popular representatives, such as the elected Members of the Legislative Councils of India.

VI. SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

The Conference welcomes the announcement recently made by the Government of India that a definite scheme for the separation of Judicial from Executive functions has been drawn up and that after consulting the Local Governments it is proposed to try it experimentally in a few selected areas. The Conference urges that in view of the great importance of this reform which has long been over-due, the scheme should be published and an expression of public opinion in regard to it immediately invited.

VII. THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement, and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and stimulate the consumption of indigenous articles by giving them preference where possible over imported commodities.

VIII. PARTITION OF BENGAL.

(a) The Conference again records its emphatic protest against the partition of Bengal, and regrets that the present Government, while admitting that there were errors in the original plan, and that it was wholly decisively against the wishes of the majority of the people of Bengal, is disposed to look upon it as a settled fact in spite of the earnest and persistent protest of the people and their earnest disinclination to accept it as final.

(b) That this Conference, composed of representatives from all the provinces of the country, desires earnestly to impress upon the British Parliament and the present Liberal Government that it will be not only just but expedient to reverse or modify the partition in such a manner as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one undivided administration and thus restore contentment to so important a province as Bengal.

(c) That having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representatives to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Conference is of opinion that the boycott of foreign goods resorted to in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that Province was and is legitimate.

IX. EDUCATION.

(1) This Conference is of opinion that the Government should take immediate steps. (a) to make primary education free at once and gradually compulsory throughout the country. (b) to assign larger sums of money to secondary and higher education (special encouragement being given where necessary to educate all backward classes); (c) and to make adequate provision for imparting technical education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements.

(2) In the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of national educa-

tion for both boys and girls and to organize an independent system of education—literary, scientific and technical suited to the requirements of the country.

X. MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

In view of the agreement arrived at this year with Russia and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of two years ago, this Conference is strongly of opinion that the military expenditure of the country should now be substantially reduced so as to get the funds to be devoted to the promotion of education in all its branches, to improve sanitation, and to the relief of the ryot's burdens, such as a further reduction of the salt tax, a reduction of the land revenue demand of the State and measures for dealing with agricultural indebtedness.

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VI. SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

The Conference welcomes the announcement recently made by the Government of India that a definite scheme for the separation of Judicial from Executive functions has been drawn up and that after consulting the Local Governments it is proposed to try it experimentally in a few selected areas. The Conference urges that in view of the great importance of this reform which has long been over-due, the scheme should be published and an expression of public opinion in regard to it immediately invited.

VII. THE SWADESHI MOVEMENT.

This Congress accords its most cordial support to the Swadeshi movement, and calls upon the people of the country to labour for its success by earnest and sustained efforts to promote the growth of indigenous industries and stimulate the consumption of indigenous articles by giving them preference where possible over imported commodities.

VIII. PARTITION OF BENGAL.

(a) The Conference again records its emphatic protest against the partition of Bengal, and regrets that the present Government, while admitting that there were errors in the original plan, and that it was wholly decisively against the wishes of the majority of the people of Bengal, is disposed to look upon it as a settled fact in spite of the earnest and persistent protest of the people and their earnest disinclination to accept it as final.

(b) That this Conference, composed of representatives from all the provinces of the country, desires earnestly to impress upon the British Parliament and the present Liberal Government that it will be not only just but expedient to reverse or modify the partition in such a manner as to keep the entire Bengali-speaking community under one undivided administration and thus restore contentment to so important a province as Bengal.

(c) That having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration and that their representatives to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Conference is of opinion that the boycott of foreign goods resorted to in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that Province was and is legitimate.

IX. EDUCATION.

(1) This Conference is of opinion that the Government should take immediate steps. (a) to make primary education free at once and gradually compulsory throughout the country. (b) to assign larger sums of money to secondary and higher education (special encouragement being given where necessary to educate all backward classes); (c) and to make adequate provision for imparting technical education in the different provinces, having regard to local requirements.

(2) In the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived for people all over the country to take up earnestly the question of national educa-

tion for both boys and girls and to organize an independent system of education—literary, scientific and technical suited to the requirements of the country.

X. MILITARY EXPENDITURE.

In view of the agreement arrived at this year with Russia and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of two years ago, this Conference is strongly of opinion that the military expenditure of the country should now be substantially reduced so as to get the funds to be devoted to the promotion of education in all its branches, to improve sanitation, and to the relief of the ryot's burdens, such as a further reduction of the salt tax, a reduction of the land revenue demand of the State and measures for dealing with agricultural indebtedness.

—:O:—

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APPENDIX D.

THE MEETING OF THE EXTREMISTS.

On the evening of the 27th December, the day the Congress was adjourned *sine die* by the Hon. Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, the following note signed by Mr. Arobindo Ghose, Mr. Tilak and Khaparde Deshmuk was issued :

The 23rd session of the Congress having unfortunately proved abortive it is desirable to take up the work of the Congress on the lines developed in the past and as last clearly laid down at the 22nd session at Calcutta, under the presidency of Mr. Naoroji. Those delegates to the Congress of Surat who unreservedly accept the principles and methods contained in the resolutions of the 22nd session, especially those on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education, and who honestly desire to further the work on those lines are therefore requested to assemble at Gheekanlitadi, Haripura, Surat, on Saturday, the 28th, at 4 P. M. to consider what arrangements should be made for a continuation of the said work in the future.

In accordance with the above notice the Extremists' delegates about 300 in number met on the evening of the 28th under the presidency of Babu Aravinda Ghose.

The meeting appointed a committee of about fifty, with secretaries, to watch the effects of the split and to devise the measures to be taken for meeting next year, and also to see that the split did not become wider.

Mr. Tilak requested his audience to consider the point in a spirit of reconciliation. He did not mean that he was free from blame, but assignment of the blame and the credit was not to be made just then. He only desired to call attention to the necessity for taking measures to keep up the Congress work during the interregnum ; he wanted that the Moderate Committee should not monopolise all the work. The Nationalists should not work in a spirit of rivalry, but in a spirit of co-operation, until, by the grace of God, an opportunity presented when they would again be united.

APPENDIX E.

ALL-INDIA MOSLEM LEAGUE.*

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

BY

SIR ADAMJEE PEERBHOY.

Gentlemen, - I thank you most heartily for the great honour you have done me in selecting me to pre-ide over your deliberations at this second gathering of the All-India Moslem League. I can only say that this is one of the proudest moments of my life and that the memory of the honour you have done me will never fade from my mind. I need hardly tell you that this is only the second occasion on which this League has met. Its first public appearance was in December last year at Dacca, when that great son of our patriotic community, Nawab Vikar-ul-Mulk, occupied the presidential Chair. The success of that first effort was all that we could naturally expect. Its proceedings were reported throughout the British Empire, and in the great London Press there were inspiring comments and criticisms which not only indicated that the movement had the widest sympathy of all well-wishers of the Mahomedans, but has imposed upon us the duty of developing this organisation to its fullest possible extent.

THE SIMLA DEPUTATION.

If any doubt has ever existed, and I know of none, that the Mahomedans of India would fail in their duty to themselves, the gathering here to-day—the leaders of our people, the men in whom we put our trust and who are writing a memorable page in our history—indicates in no uncertain way that the message has gone to the heart of the people and we have at length awakened to the stern necessity of guarding our interests and advancing our cause. I have said that the first public evidence of our consolidation was given at Dacca, but the initiation of his movement goes a little further back. I know of nothing which has been more productive of concrete results for the benefit of ourselves than that great and memorable national deputation which, in October 1906, went to Simla and laid before H. E. Lord Minto the Petition embodying our national sentiments and aspirations. It will always be a matter of keen regret to me that circumstances denied me the honour happiness of proceeding to Simla with the Deputation, but I have some slight satisfaction in the fact that my own kith and kin, my son Ebrahim, together with

* Held at Karachi on the 29th December, 1907.

Moulvi Raffiuddin Ahmed, represented this part of India. The splendid courtesy with which that deputation was received by H. E. the Viceroy, inspired the Mahomedans throughout India with complete confidence. His speech in reply to our Memorial was a statesmanlike utterance, and the very words of it are engraven indelibly on our memory. It breathed confidence, and whilst it committed neither His Excellency nor his Government to any particular line of action, we knew that the great interests of Mahomedans would never be lightly set aside or suffer neglect. Concrete evidence of that fact has already been given in the scheme suggested by the Government of India for the improvement of the representation of the people on the Legislative Council, which regulates the affairs of India.

THE BIRTH OF THE LEAGUE.

The initiation of the League dates from that visit. You know as well as I do that the Deputation was headed by His Highness the Aga Khan. That leader of our community is still young in years, but I only speak what we all have in our minds when I say we have hopes of his rendering us still higher services in the future. With him was the lamented late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Honorary Secretary of the Deputation, to whom I must refer again. The first practical work was the formation of the plans for the organisation of this League. It first met at Dacca in the East and was pronounced a success. It has met again here at Karachi, in the West, the greatest city of Sind, the centre of Mahomedanism, and as I look round me to-day, I can only express my surprise that a young movement has so quickly found the heart of our people and touched us with one common object, the advancement of our historic people. What the future has in store for the League I dare not prognosticate; but if the same spirit which animates us to-day guides its destinies, it will not be long before our rulers, and Mahomedans the world over, will look to the proceedings of this League for knowledge of our aspirations and the correct measure of our advancement along those paths we are destined to proceed. I appeal to every Mahomedan in India to realise this important fact, to do all in his power, to add to the strength of the League, to understand its aims and objects, and to render it that practical support, without which it can do nothing. We have ventured to draw the attention of the whole of the peoples of India upon us, we have elected to give evidence to our rulers that we are a community imbued with high ambitions, and we have thus imposed upon ourselves a task from which we dare not shrink. We have taken a step forward; to go back would be to drop into oblivion and stamp ourselves as unworthy of the place we demand in the British Empire. I cannot dwell on this aspect of our duty too long or with too much earnestness. What is our first duty to this end? It is to be united in ourselves, to be of one mind and one purpose. We must of all things discard sectional jealousies and personal animosities; two evils which are capable of cankering the heart of the sublimest purpose. We must look to the good of the community as a whole: work shoulder to shoulder as true children of Islam. We are putting in the foundations of a mighty structure. Let us do good work.

THE WORK BEFORE THE LEAGUE.

My duty to-day, gentlemen, is to direct your energies to the consideration of those highly important subjects on which you will be called upon to express an opinion. They are momentous in all consideration, and whilst I have no intention of impressing upon you any particular views of my own, I ask you to proceed with moderation and with a due recognition of the responsibility placed upon you. It is scarcely necessary for me to say that I have but a poor knowledge of the paths of political controversy. I am no scholar, nor a man of many words. My sphere of action in this life has been cast in an entirely different direction. Since the time when nature made it possible for me to turn my hand to toil, I have laboured, and I must admit I still have much affection for the man who uses his energies in that direction. But I do not wish to be misunderstood. I do not despise those who labour in other fields. There is work for us all. Circumstances have compelled me to direct my energies into the paths of industrialism and no higher duty could be placed upon an individual. I believe in the dignity of labour, as the great Prophet did. The history of our people, the history of our heroes and of those who have carried the flag of Islam over the world has been one of strenuous and ceaseless effort. Whatever we may have lacked in recent times in purely literary accomplishments, no one can charge the Mahomedan with not doing his fair share of the world's work. In India he has shown his special aptitude in industrialism, and I believe it is along these lines that he can best exert his influence and carve for himself a high position in the Empire. I love to see the development of Mahomedan enterprise, for it is a true measure of the energy and spirit of the people and we can never be without hope so long as we can maintain the reputation we have already earned. The history of the British people has shown that industrialism leads the way and on that foundation they built the great superstructure of the arts. We, above all others, cannot afford to neglect higher education, for our people must take their part in the responsibilities of Government and the advancement of all such movements as require the energies of trained intelligence. It gave me particular satisfaction two years ago, at the time of the memorable visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and his beloved consort, to show that I was capable of appreciating work in another sphere, by, in some slight measure, assisting to found the Science School in connection with the Aligarh College.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL REFORMS.

It will be your duty, gentlemen, to turn your attention to highly important matters arising out of the proposed reforms in connection with the Indian Legislative Councils. I have no wish to impress upon you any ideas of my own, or to anticipate the decisions to which you may ultimately arrive. For myself, I must say that I received the news of the decision of Government to reply to popular agitation by a considerable expansion of the principle of the Legislative Council with every satisfaction. And this was enhanced by the fact that the Government have seen their way to recognise our prayer in the memorial addressed to H. E. Lord Minto, and safeguard the interests of the

Mahomedans by providing class representation. As you are aware, the proposed reforms provide that there shall be a minimum of four Mahomedan representatives in the Imperial Council. Whether that number is adequate or not will be for you to say, but we must be grateful to the Viceroy and the Government of India for the recognition of those claims we specifically set out in our Memorial. It indicates that the Government are prepared to listen to the popular voice, and if this attitude is carried still further and influences the Government in their nomination of suitable men to represent us, we shall have little to complain of. We must, as far as possible, preclude the monopolisation of those appointments by those who have only personal ends to serve, and encourage and stimulate our rising young men to exert their talents and energies for the good of their community. In the Provincial Councils, the same provisions for Mahomedan representation are made, and if we can only infuse into Provincial Governments the spirit which has animated the Government of India and the Secretary of State in dealing with our just and moderate claims, our labours will be considerably lightened. It is necessary for us to remember the wisdom expressed by Lord Minto to the Deputation which waited on him at Simla. He said:—"I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the Municipal and District Boards, and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people." I am in full accord with those words, and it is in this direction that our real labour must commence. When we learn to control our parochial surroundings, we can lay claim to add our influence to Imperial policy.

MAHOMEDANS AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

Another point in the Memorial was the matter of the adequate employment of Mahomedans in the higher branches of the Public Service. We were told in the past that we lacked competence. That reproach can no longer be fairly brought against us in these days. We have in our midst educated Mahomedans who have fitted themselves for all responsible positions in the Administration, and certainly our traditions show that we have always been faithful to any administrative trust reposed in us. It will be part of your duties, gentlemen, to discuss this matter and I trust you will be able to add such weight to your words that the Government will adequately respond to your legitimate claims.

MOSLEM LOYALTY.

Our loyalty to the Government has never yet been impeached and I trust it never will. But when a vast community sets itself to work to bring about its regeneration its methods must be precise and open to no misconstruction. We recognise the difficulties of the Government in adjusting conflicting claims, but we must be as fearless, as we are honest, in our criticisms, whoever and whatever they may affect. So far as I know, the Government of India is the last to complain of criticism so long as it is fair, moderate and upright.

MUTUAL TOLERANCE.

As you know, the third object of our League is to prevent, as far as possible, the rise of hostile feelings between different communities in India.

With that object I am in complete sympathy, for it passes my understanding why the Mahomedans should in the advancement of their own interest injure those of any other people. We contribute to the common good by improving our own surroundings. It is no part of the purpose of this League to oppose the progress of other communities or to be aggressive towards them in any direction whatever. We respect all who work for the common good of the country.

THE LATE MOHSIN-UL-MULK.

I mentioned in opening my address the name of the late Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. His death at such a time was a great blow to our community. Never were his services more needed than at the present time. He worked strenuously for the success of the Deputation to Simla and it is some slight satisfaction to know that he saw at least the first fruits, of his labours. His work was universally approved for he had but one single object, and that the steady progress of his people. We have need of many such patriots and I cannot do better than ask our young men to study his life and works and let them be an example to follow.

The late Nawab has been succeeded as Secretary of the Aligarh College by the Nawab Vikar-ul-Mulk Bahadur. The wisdom of that appointment is fully indicated in the fact that it was unanimous. I know of no one more capable of wearing the mantle of the late Secretary than his present successor. His past labours have all been for the good of his people and Mahomedans may congratulate themselves that the Nawab has consented to take up the work at Aligarh.

I have but lightly touched upon those subjects with which you will be called upon to deal. I can offer you but small guidance in your deliberations, but my heart and soul is with you, and I pray with all the earnestness of an old man that God will direct your energies and lead you into the paths of righteousness and wisdom.

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